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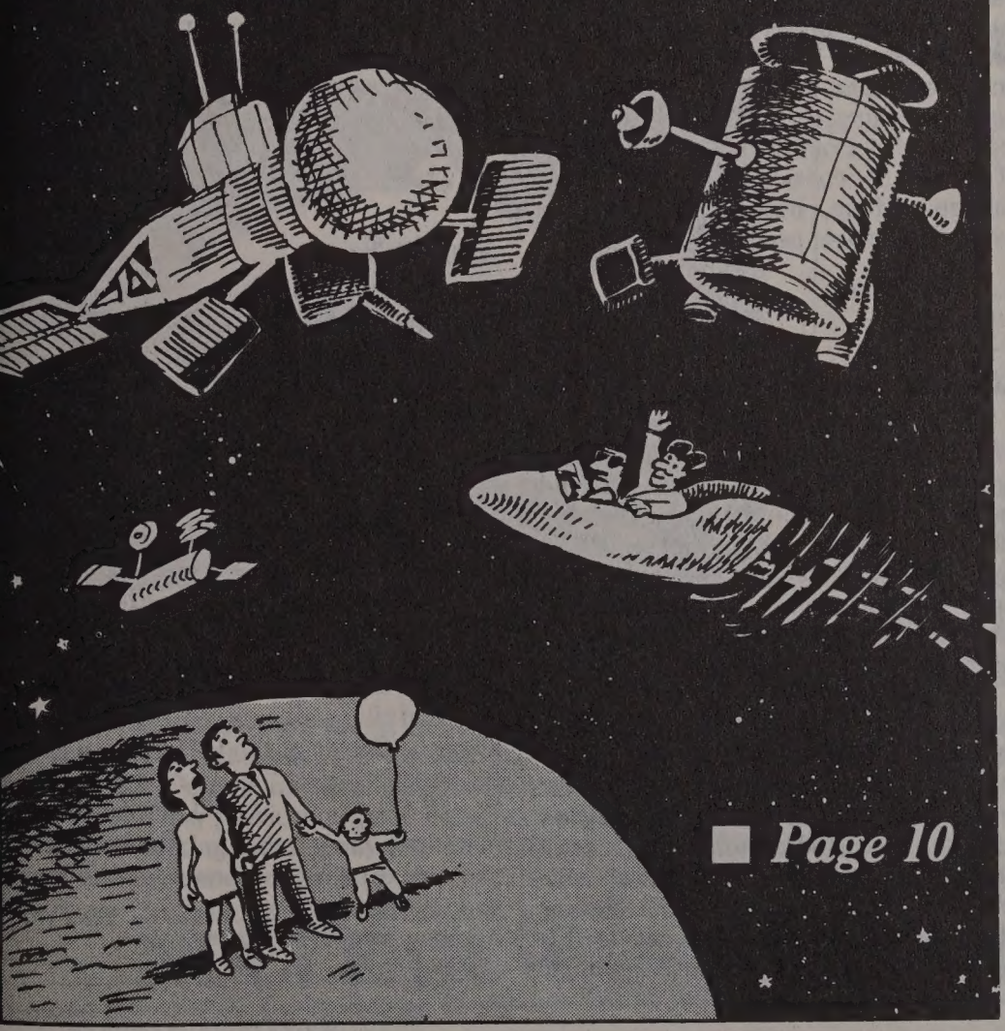
Coping With Star Wars



■ *Page 10*

Tipping The Balance on MX

■ *Page 8*

Academics Questioned

■ *Page 18*

Have We Lost?

■ *Page 20*

Casting A Shadow Over August 6

■ *Page 17, 22, 27*

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CONTENTS

EARLY WARNINGS **3**
BLUEPRINTS **7**
NATIONAL **8**
MX opponents, fresh from another slim defeat, may do better in upcoming votes. Is the Reagan Administration using Star Wars to co-opt the peace movement? A look at how SDI has suddenly changed the 40-year debate over nuclear strategy.
FEATURE **18**
Do activists and academics mix? Members of the Directors' Forum went to Harvard to find out.
FORUM **20**
A comprehensive test ban *is* realizable—and may help the movement get its "feet in the door" once again.
By Raoul Rosenberg.
NOTES FROM ABROAD **21**
IDEAS THAT WORK **22**
CALENDAR **23**
RESOURCES **24**
AUGUST 6/AUGUST 9 ..... **27**

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Letters

Soviet Block?

Sandy Gottlieb's article in the April NUCLEAR TIMES titled, "Facing Soviet Realities," is very much on the right track. A prime key to reversing the arms race, so consistently stated by numbers of our leading thinkers today, is the fact that arms reduction must be accompanied, if not preceded, by political accommodation and lessening of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.

As Sandy says, it is necessary to give a higher priority to the Soviet question. We can say this straight out to the American people. They have intelligence and the will to live; they will listen if we're honest and fair-minded, as Sandy suggests. Our efforts would be helped immeasurably if leaders in the peace movement would assemble and bring their various approaches together for improvement of superpower relations. Our entire undertaking to reduce nuclear weapons needs a main program that is clear and cohesive enough for the people to accept.

—John G. Dow
Albany, N.Y.

While I hold Mr. Gottlieb in high regard, I think his suggestion a poor one. American prejudices regarding Russia, communism and atheism are deep-seated, and I estimate that it would take 100 years to reduce these prejudices. In the interim what would happen to the issues of peace? Discussion of Russia would change nothing, but distract attention from the issues of peace.

—Simon Olshawsky
Natick, Ma.

Explosive Subject

There has been recent pressure by peace groups to ratify the bilateral treaty agreed upon by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1976 entitled the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions (PNE) Treaty ["Test Ban Wagon Starts Rolling," April '85]. I would like to express strong reservations regarding the ratification of this not so "peaceful" treaty.

This treaty provides that a nuclear nation may carry out nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes in its own territory or may assist another nation to carry out such explosions. An individual explosion is not to exceed 150 kilotons (10 times the yield of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima); however, group explosions are allowed which may have yields of up to 1.5 megatons. The agreement does not provide limitations on above-ground blasts and there is scientifically no difference between nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and those conducted for military testing. Therefore, under this treaty a non-nuclear nation with the aid of a nuclear nation could legally carry out explosions testing under the guise of "peaceful" explosions.

Some have advocated the PNE because of its provisions for on-site inspections; however, the Soviets have expressed a willingness to consent to on-site inspections in a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which would be a much stronger agreement for curbing modernization and proliferation of nuclear weapons capability.

—Jean E. Krasno
New Canaan, Ct.

Pressure Point

Your "Wrap Up" item in the March 1985 issue generates a thought. I refer to the Center for Defense Information conference to which the Soviet Union's message supported a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty whereas the U.S. message opposed a CTBT. In efforts to recruit people to the nuclear disarmament movement one often meets resistance based on the claim that pressure on the U.S. government would be futile since no corresponding pressure can be exerted on the Soviet government. To this I often respond that the Soviet Union has publicly announced positions already in favor of valuable disarmament actions that are opposed by the United States.

—Irving Katz
Coconut Creek, Fl.

Naught Now

I just finished reading the article on Mr. Taneguchi, one of the many Hibakusha who suffered so greatly ["August 6/August 9," March '85] and continue to suffer at the hands of nuclear technology. Together we must fight the Reagans and the Weinbergers and the Gorbachevs and the Gromykos to whom nuclear war is an "acceptable risk," to whom nuclear war is indeed sexy—"soft lay-down," "deep penetration," etc. Together we can win a non-violent future, with respect for each other and our environment, or together we will perish, flayed by a poison sun, and all the screams, all the cries, and all the suffering of the Hibakusha will be for naught.

—Jonathan Magid
Berkeley, Ca.

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EARLY WARNINGS

THE TESTS ARE YET TO COME: In a letter sent to the Center for Defense Information, Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin endorsed the Center's call for a nuclear test ban. But the response was "not entirely satisfactory," reports Center staff member David Morrison. The letter, received on April 17, said that the Soviets had agreed to a testing moratorium, "given the acceptance of other nuclear powers." It also noted that the ban could begin on August 6—the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima—as the Center has proposed. But the Center had hoped that the Soviets might initiate a challenge moratorium—announce a test ban of their own, which would stay in force if the United States followed suit. "A test ban is not going to happen until one side or the other starts it," says Morrison.

Last December a State Department spokesman told the Center: "Though it remains a long-term objective, the United States does not intend to pursue negotiations toward a comprehensive test ban at this time." As part of its follow-up, the Center plans to focus on the verification issue, which the Administration sees as one reason for opposing a test ban.

Meanwhile, a bill introduced by Representative Patricia Schroeder calls for the President to announce a three-month suspension of testing—beginning on August 6—that would be contingent on a simultaneous Soviet moratorium. If President Reagan declines to do so, the measure would cut off all funds for U.S. testing. Though the recent Soviet move has brought some attention to Schroeder's bill, the measure is described as a "long shot" by a Schroeder aide.

MARCH FIRST: An ambitious new project, Pro Peace, designed to "create an international citizen's movement" to demand that world leaders "take the weapons down," is underway in Los Angeles. It has already captured a good deal of media attention and even Leo McCarthy, the lieutenant governor of California, stopped by its offices to see what was going on.

Pro Peace is the brainchild of David Mixner, a veteran activist who recently sold his interest in the multi-million dollar consulting firm, Mixner/Scott, Inc., to devote more time to organizing. With a

Mixner (standing) plans march with staff

full-time staff of 25, many of whom interrupted their careers to work with Mixner, and dozens of volunteers, Pro Peace is planning its first event, "The Great March." On March 1, 1986, 5000 people will depart from Los Angeles and walk 3235 miles through 15 states to Washington, D.C. Advance teams are already staking out campsites along the way and applications are being sent to potential marchers. Civil disobedience, involving (Mixner hopes) up to 250,000 people protesting at selected weapons sites, will follow in the spring of 1987. Pro Peace will try to send messages from U.S. and European peace marchers to Eastern bloc countries through a special communications system. Mixner wants

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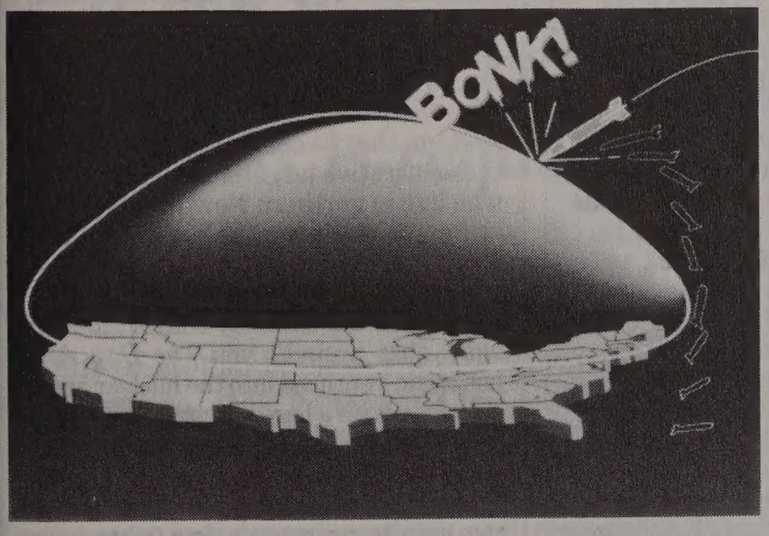

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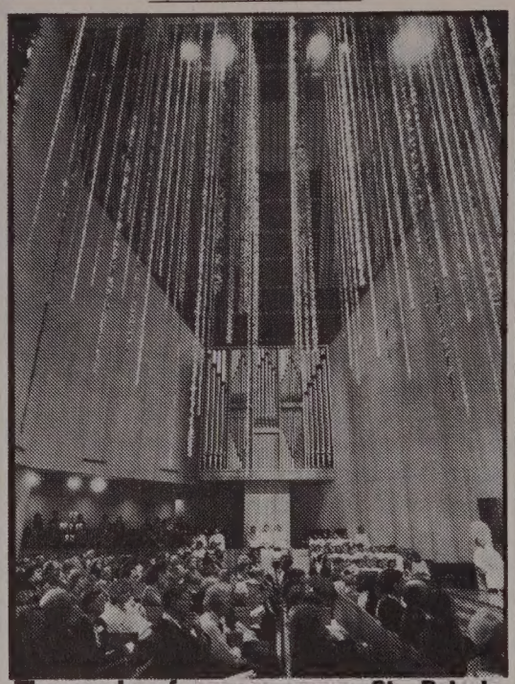
to raise $1 million by June 1, and fund raisers, as well as extensive campus outreach and efforts to sign up celebrity backers, are planned. (Paul Newman contributed $25,000.)

The Pro Peace plan may sound daunting, but Mixner's credentials cannot be discounted. He worked in the civil rights movement in the early 1960s, was a close advisor to Senator Eugene McCarthy during his 1968 run for president, and co-founded the Vietnam Moratorium Committee in 1969. More recently he has been a campaign manager for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and a national co-chair for Gary Hart's campaign in 1984. Mixner says he founded Pro Peace in the spirit of King and Gandhi. "It is not a political movement," he says, "but a moral movement." Mixner believes the climate is right to inspire people to make the "kinds of great sacrifices," like leaving their homes and jobs for a year or risking arrest, "that are needed to bring about historic change."

CRANES SET TO FLY: In one of the more original displays of "track two" diplomacy, over 250,000 paper cranes will be presented to officials in Moscow in late June. They are the first shipment of a grass-roots peace project that aims to send almost two million origami cranes—one for every child living in Moscow. Each colorful bird, which takes 28 steps to make, represents a prayer for the full life and health of a child and for peace between the two superpowers.



Thousands of cranes grace St. Peter's

The Peace-Crane Project was launched in 1983 at Saint Peter's Church in New York City by a group of Lutheran pastors and laypeople and is endorsed by the local bishop. So far over 600 multi-denominational religious and secular groups in 41 states, Puerto Rico and Canada, whose members range in age from kindergarteners to senior citizens, have participated. Marilyn Lange and the Reverend Jeffrey Lange conceived the project to commemorate the atomic bombing of Japan, but they also saw it as a way to break the cycle of fear that has characterized Soviet-American relations.

There are still places open for the June 29–July 14 trip to Russia which will tour Moscow, Leningrad, and the Baltic states of Riga and Tallin. For further information and requests for Leader's Guides to start a group, contact The Peace-Crane Project, Saint Peter's Church, 619 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10022, or call the church office at (212) 935-2200.

BUT WILL THEY PRAY IN PEORIA? As we note in our Star Wars articles elsewhere in this issue, proponents of space shields now admit that no defensive system could possibly be infallible. At a recent debate with McGeorge Bundy at New York University, for example, Edward Teller admitted that within the next generation space-based defenses would be capable of saving only 30 million out of 100 million lives in the event of a deliberate or accidental Soviet attack. Thirty million lives is nothing to sneeze at, but one often has the sense that Star Wars proponents, whatever their scientific credentials, are poor in math (100 – 30 = 70 million lives *lost*).

Witness the following comments by General Robert Richardson, deputy director of High Frontier, the pro-ballistic missile defense group in Washington. On a cable television program on Star Wars in Manhattan last month, Richardson said that while "there's no such thing as an invulnerable shield," use of space defenses would "have a very good chance of saving millions of Americans. This would not reassure people in New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, who would know that if there were five weapons that leaked through the system they would obviously land on these lucrative targets. But in my family, who live in northern New Hampshire, or in Peoria, five weapons would go almost unnoticed except for TV and radio."

LEARNING BY ABC: The television network that brought you *The Day After* has again ventured into the nuclear arena, this time with a three-hour documentary, scheduled to air on June 6, as part of ABC's "Closeup" series. If *The Fire Unleashed* resembles the show viewed two months prior to air time (when it was still subject to rigorous editing, last-minute interviews and the scrutiny of network lawyers and executives) it will be a hard-hitting, yet evenhanded, piece.

The 180-minute program does not focus on nuclear weapons *per se*. But from its opening scenes, *The Fire Unleashed* makes it clear that the planet is in trouble. Against a background of bleak visuals, it presents a litany of disturbing facts about poorly constructed power plants, and the shoddy record of the Nuclear

Blips

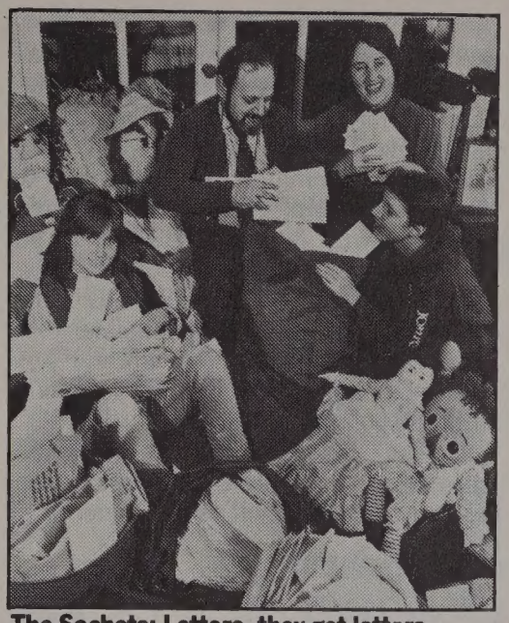
Freeze organizers in several states are now pushing a "Freeze While We Talk" strategy, calling for a **negotiators' pause**—bilateral moratoria on testing and deployment while the arms talks are underway .... **Peace Ribbon** organizers are calling for a turnout of 100,000 in Washington, D.C. on August 4, which will enable perhaps 10 miles of ribbon to be wrapped around the Capitol, White House and Pentagon .... **Daniel Ford's** remarkable April 1 and April 8 articles in *The New Yorker* form a major part of his book **The Button: A Report on Our Nuclear Trigger—and Why It Will Not Work**, to be published this month .... A Federal Appeals court in San Francisco has opened the way for some **atomic veterans** to sue the government if it failed to warn them of possible health dangers from exposure to radiation. The decision could affect hundreds of suits around the country, according to James Geagan, lawyer for the widow of a Navy veteran involved in the U.S. clean-up at Nagasaki in 1945 .... Residents of Amherst, Massachusetts are protesting plans to build a **Ground Wave Emergency Network** (GWEN) tower in town. The Pentagon wants 240 of these 300-foot towers across the country to enable the nuclear war-fighting communications system to surmount the electromagnetic pulse (EMP) .... Senators Proxmire and Hatfield have introduced legislation calling for a joint U.S.-Soviet commission to study the policy implications of **nuclear winter** .... A recent *New York Times* comparison between the Reagan Administration's "Warring Richards"—**Perle and Burt**—turned up many contrasts. Richard P. picked "Danny Boy" as his favorite song and Glenn Gould as favorite performer; Richard B. chose "Avalon" (by Roxy Music) and Bruce Springsteen .... The first comprehensive guide to the funding of antinuclear and arms control projects has been produced by the **Forum Institute** in Washington, D.C., which found that foundations provide 30 percent of group funding .... With *Threads* under his belt, bad boy **Ted Turner** is planning a second antinuclear film, a picture of a world without nuclear weapons, called *Visions* .... **Citizens Against Nuclear War** will co-sponsor a major symposium in Las Vegas this September to consider the economic implications of a test ban.

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORN

Regulatory Commission; the health records of Three Mile Island residents six years after the accident; the inadequate disposal of radioactive waste; the growth of nuclear power and nuclear weapons technology throughout the Third World; and the pros and cons of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

For ABC to spend over one year in production time, three hours of prime time and so much money on *The Fire Unleashed* is the "equivalent of a political statement," says Richard Richter, senior producer of documentaries. He says it is the responsibility of a major network to address an issue important to the world, and though this goal, he admits, is pompous, ABC hopes to set the agenda for the nation by inspiring people to think more deeply about nuclear issues. But a serious program like this also makes ABC look good. "We get a lot of attention," says Richter. "It makes ABC look caring, concerned and responsible."

MAIL FUNCTION: As part of a project called Kids Meeting Kids, students from across the United States recently wrote to (as yet) unknown pen pals in the Soviet Union. Their letters will soon be distributed to kids of the same age (seven to 14) in the USSR. The result, according to Mary and Marvin Sochet of New York City, will be the first unhindered correspondence between American and Soviet children.



The Sochets: Letters, they get letters

Through letters to 150 schools and a notice in *Junior Scholastic*, the Sochets invited students to write to their Soviet counterparts. Their Manhattan apartment was soon flooded with over 13,000 letters (and one tape). The letter-writers touched on their feelings about nuclear war but they also described their friends, families, chores and homework, and asked for similar details from their correspondents. The letters will be distributed through Pioneer Clubs, a scout-like network in Soviet schools. Further correspondence will supposedly have no intermediary, and since many Soviet children begin learning English in third grade, translation will not be a problem, the Sochets hope.

Thanks to the publicity the project has received, the Sochets continue to receive letters at the rate of one mail bag a day. *Family Circle* and *Seventeen* magazines plan to print some of the letters. Now the couple is working to arrange a small number of summer camp exchanges, with a future goal of year-long school exchanges. "Marvin's fantasy is to have a quarter million kids living in each other's country," says Mary. "His theory is that no one will drop bombs on their own children." Letters can be sent, with the writer's name, address and age on the envelope, to Kids Meeting Kids, PO Box 8H, 380 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10025.

DEATH UNBECOMING: A recently discovered letter written by J. Robert Oppenheimer in 1943 casts some doubt on the sincerity of his subsequent soul-searching on the role of scientists in

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—Amory Lovins

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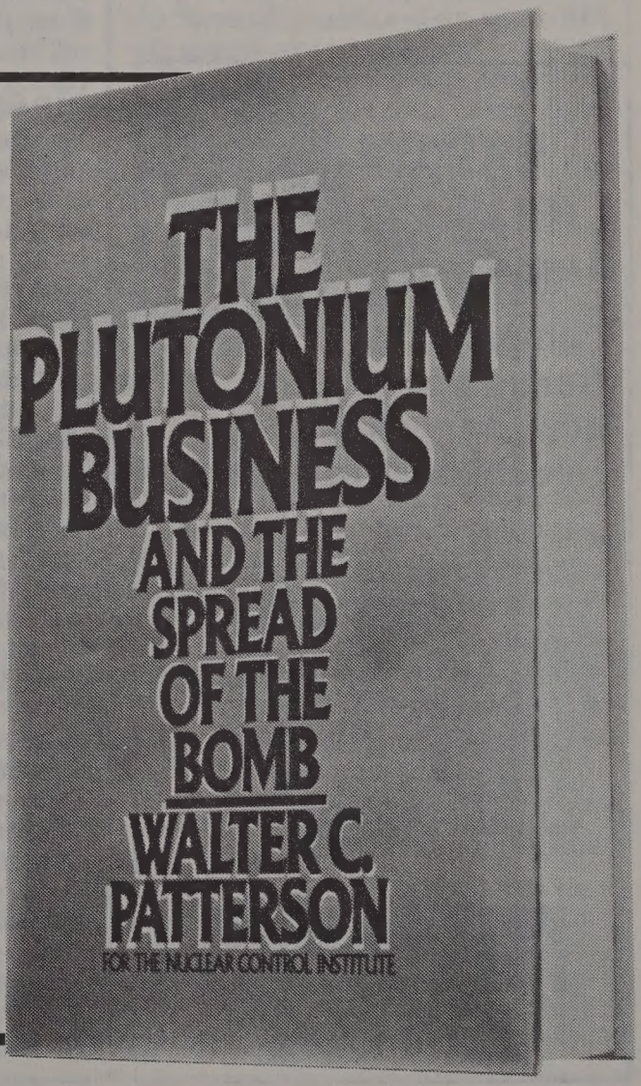

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

W. MORGAN PETTY SAYS

"NUCLEAR WAR— KEEP OUT!"

Saturday, Feb. 23
Dear President Reagan--
Well, it's over 6 months now since I declared our house & garden at 3 Cherry Drive, Canterbury, a NUCLEAR FREE ZONE! Still so much to do, what with shoring up defence perimeter (garden hedge a weak spot, I'm afraid)--acquiring defensive arms (my letters about purchase of Harrier jet apparently not taken altogether seriously) --&writing for advice to Mrs. Thatcher, Gen Haig, defense boffins, &cet.

In fact, I think my letters, and the actual replies I've received, make rather a hilarious read--so I've put them all together in a book! It could make me a hero, à la The Mouse That Roared! Or maybe it'll be more like Monty Python...

At any event, look for it in your American bookshops around Spring, probably with some suitably silly title, such as...

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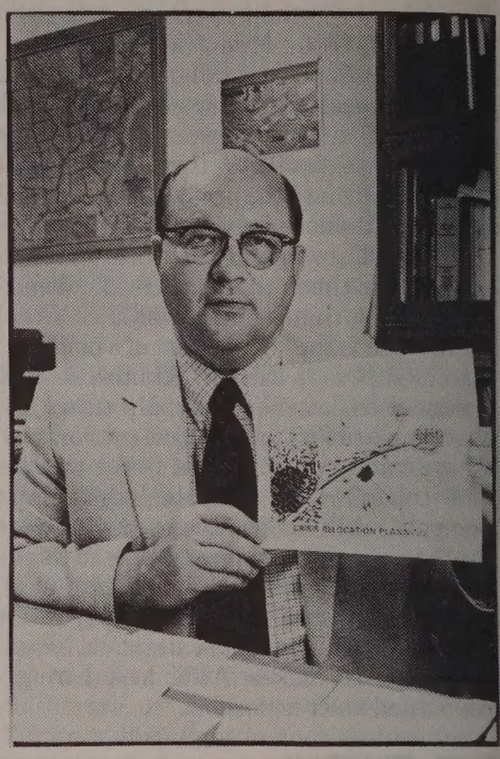
developing the atomic bomb. The letter, addressed to Oppenheimer's Manhattan Project colleague, Enrico Fermi, commented on a proposed plan to poison the enemy (most likely, Germans) with radioactively contaminated food. According to Barton Bernstein, a Stanford University historian who has written widely on Oppenheimer, and who discovered the recently declassified letter in the Library of Congress archives, Oppenheimer told Fermi: "I think that we should not attempt a plan unless we can poison food sufficient to kill a half a million men. . . ." The plan, obviously, was never carried out and it is difficult, Bernstein says, to assess how seriously it was considered.

HALL OF SHAME: While INFACT was still celebrating its successful Nestlé boycott, it kicked off a campaign against the production of nuclear weapons by U.S. transnational corporations. In less than one year it has caused a stir in a few corporate hierarchies. Volunteers hit the streets last October with "Weaponmakers Hall of Shame" fact sheets that explained the role the top 13 MX contractors play in forming nuclear policy (contributing to pro-defense PAC's, for example, or sharing personnel and consultants with the Pentagon) and distributed over 83,000 postcards that were sent to chief executive officers, urging them to redirect their companies' resources.

The response was immediate, says Nancy Cole, executive director of INFACT, which is based in Minneapolis. Martin Marietta and General Telephone and Electronics (GTE) wrote letters to each activist affirming their commitment to peace-through-strength. One firm wrote directly to INFACT, and a top executive in another called a meeting to figure out where the cards came from and how to respond. (Cole declined to name the two companies until INFACT makes its reply.) On April 15, INFACT began "The General's Campaign" by sending "1040-sleEZy" forms to General Dynamics, General Electric and GTE, demanding correction and apology for tax abuse and disclosure of profits from weapons production. Soon, INFACT will target one company as an example and try to force it to change its weapons production policy through divestment, pressure on shareholders and subsidiaries, or, possibly, boycott.

Maintaining the momentum may be a problem, says Cole, recalling that enthusiasm often dwindled during the seven-year infant formula battle with Nestlé.

CRP YES, UPI NO: Reports of the death of civil defense planning by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) have been greatly exaggerated, the agency says. A March story by



FEMA's Clanahan: Cut to the bone

United Press International that ran in *The New York Times* and other newspapers reported that FEMA had "quietly shelved a controversial plan to evacuate whole cities to rural areas in the event of nuclear war." The concept of "crisis relocation planning" (CRP) had been widely attacked as unworkable and had been rejected by many local jurisdictions, UPI said, and now had been abandoned by FEMA.

Evacuation planning has indeed been attacked and rejected, but it has not been abandoned. "We have not backed off from war-related planning," says FEMA spokesman Russell Clanahan. The CRP program was phased out in 1983, he says, but only because it was merged into a new program called the Integrated Emergency Management System, which plans jointly for both war-related and peacetime disasters. "A lot of the same tools are involved," Clanahan says. One of those tools is urban evacuation.

While evacuation planning thus continues under another name, the entire FEMA civil defense effort has been dealt a major blow by Reagan Administration budget-makers. The proposed 1986 civil defense budget has been cut to $119 million from the 1985 level of $181 million. "Our research program is being cut to the bone," Clanahan says. "Industrial protection is being zeroed out. Our priority effort will be to maintain our professional cadre of emergency managers at the federal and local level."

Items for this section were contributed by Cathy Cevoli, David Corn, Henry Epstein, Kris Fischer, Marsha Newfield and Edward Zuckerman.

PHOTO BY ROBERT DEL TREDI

Blue-Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms

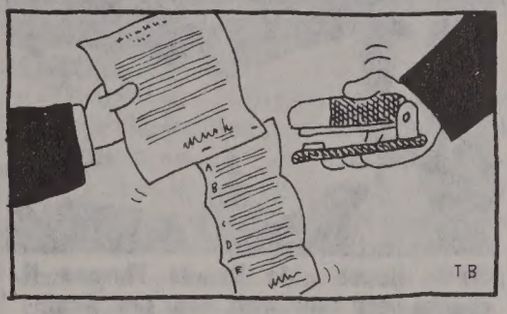
Since its drafting in 1972, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty has been open to interpretation. This has never been more true than at the present time, as the Reagan Administration pushes ahead with its Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Arms control proponents charge that the so-called Star Wars program threatens to cause a treaty "breakout." In a report sent to Congress in late April, the Pentagon provided a broad interpretation of the treaty to show how the United States could comply with it while carrying out a wide range of SDI field tests. The report stated, however, that the United States would disregard the treaty if, in our view, the Soviets did.

A quietly different version of the story is offered in a new report commissioned by the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty, an organization founded a year ago by Gerard Smith, chief of the SALT I delegation that negotiated the ABM Treaty. *The Impact of U.S. and Soviet Ballistic Missile Defense Programs on the ABM Treaty* was written by two policy analysts—Thomas Longstreth of the Arms Control Association and John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists—and John Rhinelander, an attorney who acted as legal advisor to the SALT I delegation. In addition to detailing bilateral encroachments upon the treaty, the authors offer a plan for strengthening the document and adapting it to technological advances.

The report contains a hit list of ABM-threatening weapons systems, which the authors slate for banning or limitation. Chief among them are 13 SDI projects—including such futuristic exotica as the "hypervelocity launcher," "airborne optical system," and "kinetic kill vehicle." The authors see the main treaty threat from such projects beginning to arise around 1988, when many of the projects will move to "advanced development," or field testing. The treaty permits laboratory testing of ABM components, but prohibits field testing. The Administration argues that the technologies it plans to field test are not ABM "components," but "adjuncts" or "subcomponents."

In a telephone interview, one of the authors, Thomas Longstreth, contended that such semantic second-guessing of the treaty language hurts the treaty's verifiability. "The reason [the treaty writers] made the demarcation between laboratory testing and field testing," he explains, "was that laboratory testing could *not* be observed, while field testing could." Quibbles over what constitutes a "component" or a "sub-component," in Longstreth's view, evade the intent of the provision and make it impossible for the Soviets to verify compliance by national technical means.

The authors of the new report attribute the ambiguities of the treaty to two factors: its age and its brevity. When the treaty was negotiated 13 years ago many of the controversial technologies now at issue did not exist. And unlike later treaties, such as SALT II, whose provisions were spelled out by 96 Common Understandings and Agreements, the ABM Treaty only contains 13 such sections.



The authors suggest that, by working through the Standing Consultative Commission (SCC), which was established by the ABM Treaty to resolve compliance issues, the two governments pursue additional amendments to iron out linguistic kinks and adapt to new technologies. The authors note, however, that "the Reagan Administration has taken actions that impair the usefulness of the SCC."

In addition to bolstering the SCC, and attending to SDI compliance matters, the authors prescribe limitations on three "gray-area" technologies, such as large phased-array radars (so much in dispute right now), anti-satellite weapons and anti-tactical missiles—none of which are technically classified as ABM components, but which could be used for ABM purposes.

The authors also voice the classic arms control plea for a greater role in the military decision-making process. Alleging that military planners in both countries pay scant attention to arms control, they propose that the United States, for its part, establish a permanent governmental body to advise U.S. military programmers about treaty obligations.

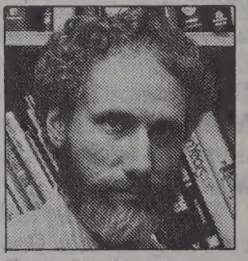
In a parting shot, the report (available for $3 from the National Campaign, 1346 Connecticut Ave NW, Washington, D.C. 20036) criticizes the Administration's general restriction of information about SDI. Longstreth complains that in order to write this report the authors had to help congressional members draft legislation mandating the release of the budget justification books on SDI. (The justification books provide the most detailed explanations of federal programs.) In addition, Longstreth says that in the course of conducting numerous interviews in the various branches of the government, the authors found that the "level of ignorance about where SDI was headed was remarkable."

The information shortage about SDI, write the authors in their closing statement, "has had the effect of limiting if not eliminating the public debate on this fundamental national security issue."

—Corinna Gardner

B L U E P R I N T S • B R I E F S

• Following nine days of meetings with Soviet attorneys and arms control experts, the **Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control** (LANAC) has produced its own paper on the ABM Treaty (one of four reports coming out of the trip). The LANAC delegation, which included (once again) John Rhinelander, discovered "an interesting and little discussed problem in the Treaty language." It involves the sensitive question of whether the treaty outlaws Star Wars-related laboratory testing the United States seems to think is permitted. The English language version of the treaty says that neither side shall "develop" space-based defenses; the Soviet version (equally authentic) uses a word, *sozdavat*, which can be translated not only as "develop" but "create"—a perhaps crucial imprecision. The Soviets seized on this very point, and LANAC President Alan Sherr calls this divergence "unfortunate." But Sherr believes that "the stated Soviet view is intended for public consumption" and that Soviet arms experts do not seriously believe that such research is prohibited.



LANAC's Alan Sherr

• A March 31, 1985, *Washington Post* article by Thomas Powers revealed that although U.S. nuclear war-fighting plans practically guarantee the onset of a nuclear winter, no president (with the "arguable exception" of Jimmy Carter) has had more than a passing knowledge of how we plan to use nuclear weapons, and "Congress is completely excluded from the war-planning process." Powers calls for creation of a **Congressional War Plans Oversight Committee** to consider all the implications, and serve as a place where outside parties could raise new issues on the broader consequences of nuclear war.

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM
PHOTO COURTESY OF LAWYERS ALLIANCE FOR NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL

THE SHOWDOWN MUST GO ON

MX-travaganza: Act Two Opens

Act One of the 1985 MX drama drew to a close March 28 when the House of Representatives voted to release production funds for 21 new MX missiles. But there was not much of an intermission between the first and second acts. No sooner had Congress approved $1.5 billion for the new missiles when MX opponents and supporters began to strategize for the next set of votes on the weapon, which are likely to occur this month as Congress takes up the Administration's military authorization request.

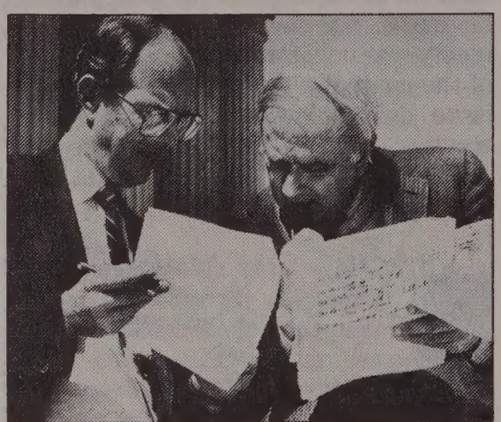
The debate over President Reagan's fiscal year 1986 MX request, which totals over $4 billion, including funds for 48 new missiles and for deploying those already approved, comes on the heels of an intense battle over the White House's 1985 request. MX supporters on March 26 barely managed to squeak by with a 219–213 vote in favor of releasing the 1985 funds, which Congress had frozen last year. Two days later, the House again backed the missile. These votes, coupled with two 55–45 Senate votes supporting the MX, freed the money for the missiles, increasing the total number of missiles approved by Congress to 42.

Having narrowly lost the last round, do MX opponents stand much of a chance on the 1986 request? "The dynamics have changed," maintains David Cohen, president of the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control in Washington, D.C. He and other anti-MX lobbyists cite a number of favorable signs.

Unlike the recent votes on the 1985 funds, which were straight up-and-down votes, the next round will be open to amendments—and a whole range of possible outcomes. As the votes near, a great deal of legislative maneuvering is under way. When the MX reaches the floor of the House, says an aide to Representative Les AuCoin, a leading MX opponent, "we expect to see amendments to amendments to amendments."

MX SENATE

Talk of limiting MX deployment gained currency as Act One ended. On the day the House concluded its debate, four influential Senate Democrats—Minority Leader Robert Byrd, David Boren, Albert Gore, Jr. and Sam Nunn—proposed that the total number of missiles deployed be limited to 40 rather than the 100 currently planned. All four have previously voted for the MX. Under their proposal, about 12 missiles would be produced a year to provide test missiles and spares. The four declined to commit themselves to a total number that would be produced, but Nunn, who is seen as the chief engineer of the plan, suggested a total of 100, less than half of the 223 (which includes test missiles and spares) called for by the Administration.



White House aide Dennis Thomas (l.) checks vote tally with Rep. Les Aspin

In a similar proposal, Senator John Warner, a Republican MX advocate, called for placing a cap at 50 on the number of missiles that can be deployed in modified Minuteman missile silos, which is how the Administration wants to house the 100 missiles. The other 50, Warner says, would have to be deployed in a different mode, such as in new hardened silos or in some mobile system.

Another indication of the trouble President Reagan faces in the Senate came April 2 when the Armed Services committee trimmed his request from 48 to 21 missiles.

A Senate aide who has been active in the MX opposition predicts the Senate vote "in all likelihood will cap total deployment and reduce the annual production and deployment rates. In the Senate there won't be a lot of contention over zeroing out the program." Restricting deployment to 40 missiles, each of which can carry 10 warheads, would remove some of the destabilizing elements of the weapon system, he notes.

The Nunn proposal will be hard for some members of Congress to resist, says John Isaacs of the anti-MX Council for a Livable World—even though a 40-missile/400-warhead system does not make sense. "At a time when we have 9000 strategic weapons, including warheads on Minuteman III missiles that have some hard-target capability, 400 new warheads are just a drop in the bucket."

Nevertheless, the anti-MX coalition composed of arms control, environmental and church groups and other organizations, is still pressing for a complete rejection of the 1986 request. But the chances of a compromise like the Nunn plan passing in the Senate are probably better. "There are 45 hard-core anti-MX votes," the Senate aide reports. "But there's no way to get 51 in the near future."

Placing a cap on the program would not only provide "damage limitation, it would be a significant victory," says the aide. However, there will probably be some debate over what type of cap to impose. Nunn favors a one-year cap, while MX opponents back a permanent limit.

TURNING DOWN THE HOUSE

In the House, there is talk of a similar deployment restriction, but leaders of the House MX opposition are sticking to a no-money, no-new-missiles approach. But, according to several House aides, this will not prevent them from supporting a compromise cap.

An aide to Representative Nicholas Mavroules, an MX critic, reports however, that the MX opposition believes it has a shot at picking up a few members—especially some of the 61 Democrats who defected on the last vote—to forge a majority that will reject the MX outright. "Last time, the President was forced to expend a great amount of energy to get the votes of members who said that was the last time they would vote for the MX," she says. "And there will be party pressure on those Democrats who voted with Reagan."

Part of that pressure will come from party leaders, particularly Representatives Richard Gephardt and Thomas Foley, the chair of the House Democratic Caucus and the majority whip, respectively. Both are maintaining an active role in the MX opposition.

The previous set of votes in the House were marked by a high-powered White House lobbying effort. Arms negotiator Max Kampelman was brought back from Geneva to sell the MX as a bargaining chip. (This effort became known as the "Max Factor.") White House lobbyists

PHOTO AP/WIDE WORL

roamed the halls of the Capitol—one wearing a baseball cap with the insignia "Peacekeeper Flight Team." Lawmakers were brought to the White House in olive green Army buses to receive a pitch from the President. The squeeze was on. And anti-MX lobbyists from Common Cause, SANE, and other groups mounted perhaps their strongest effort to date, coordinating intense grass-roots pressure with lobbying activity on the Hill. During the four days of debate, anti-MX lobbyists positioned themselves at the entrance to the chamber, forming a gauntlet through which members passed. The same tactics will be used for the next vote, according to leading MX opponents in Washington. "The real excitement lies in the sustained efforts: the phone calls, the office visits, the letters," says Jay Hedlund, lobbyist with Common Cause.

Among MX detractors the hope is that the White House will not be able to orchestrate a no-holds-barred campaign again. Strong-arm tactics cannot be used repeatedly without raising the prospect of a backlash, and other issues in Congress, such as space weapons and Central America, are now demanding White House attention. And MX critics question whether President Reagan will once more be able to resort to the bargaining chip argument, since members can respond that they have already provided a sufficient number of "chips."

But the anti-MX forces do anticipate another hard round. "We just don't know yet what the White House will pull out of its bag of tricks," says one House aide. Some are predicting that next time Reagan will fly in Kampelman's associate at Geneva, former senator John Tower. As for Representative Les Aspin, the guardian angel of the MX, his victory in March did not come without its costs. On the House floor, he was hissed at by some of his Democratic colleagues. And the spectacle of the Republicans giving him a standing ovation at the end of the debate did not enhance his status in the party. As the new chair of the Armed Services Committee, and, consequently, part of the party leadership, he cannot ignore this. While he is not fully supporting the President's 1986 request—after the March votes he said that 24 missiles, not 48, were the most the Administration could count on—it is unclear just how hard the Democrats can lean on Aspin. Once again, he could hold the pivotal position on the House side.

ENCORE SUPPORT?

Though some MX opponents claim they can see the light at the end of the tunnel—if not in the MX program being cancelled, then in it being severely curtailed—Act Two will not mark the end of the show. Later in the year, when the military appropriations bill arrives at Capitol Hill, the MX will be up for grabs again. MX opponents who want to see the program killed face tough obstacles. "Limited deployment and a few missiles approved this year—is that a loss for us?" the Mavroules aide asks. "It is substantially different from ending the program. But you have to work with what you have. Remember that no major weapon system has ever been thwarted as much as the MX. It's not a small step to cut a weapon program by more than half."

David Cohen maps out the scenario this way: "If we can get a deployment cap in the Senate now and a strong position in the House, we will be in a position to squeeze the funds out entirely during appropriations"—Act Three. **—David Corn**

Aspin: Bringing It All Back Home

Shortly before the latest MX vote, Representative Les Aspin met with his constituents in Wisconsin at a League of Women Voters forum. The people present were strongly against the MX. At that time, Aspin said he was still undecided on the issue. A week later, Aspin threw his weight behind the missile system.

"People are very upset," says Jean Verber, chair of the Citizens for a Nuclear Freeze in Racine, Wisconsin. "They feel he does not represent his constituency. They also feel that he is, in a sense, betraying the people here because of the cost factor [of the MX] in a district with a 10 percent unemployment rate." But the anger over the MX vote is not enough to force Aspin from office. According to Dennis Hetzel of the *Racine Journal Times*, people in Aspin's district are more concerned with local issues than with the MX vote. And Aspin has noted that fact. He is using his new position as Chair of the Armed Services Committee to bring defense contracts into his district. With the help of local officials and Wisconsin Power & Light, he has put together the Rock County Project, which helps local businesses make contact with the Department of Defense. Although the project deals in small items like fuses, it has already brought several million defense dollars into the area.

Aspin's office says the Congressman will not run for Senate in 1986 because he wants to keep the chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee. Verber's organization looked for a viable Democratic opponent to Aspin in 1984 and couldn't find one. **—Kris Thompson and Steve Braunginn**

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REAGAN'S SPACE VEHICLE

The Selling Of Star Wars

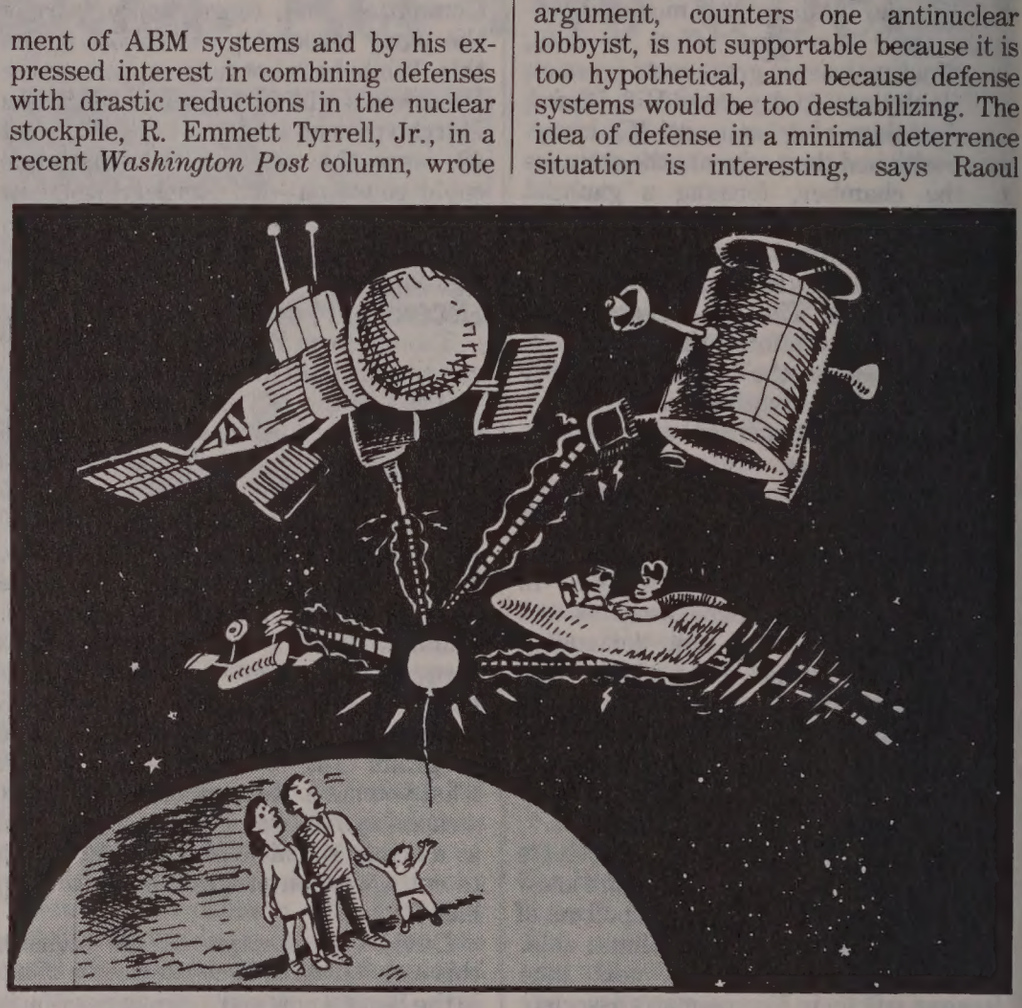
Star Wars is a radical discontinuity in strategic thought. And discontinuities—sudden changes in almost anything, from ideology to the respective military might of the superpowers—are destructive, according to nuclear strategy, because they are the most likely way deterrence will break down and nuclear blasts will begin blistering the countryside.

President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, a.k.a. Star Wars, is meant ultimately to defend the United States *against* a discontinuity. But its advocates are rejoicing in a discontinuity it has created, a change opponents to Star Wars are still trying to understand and react to: Through Star Wars, the Administration has purportedly joined the peace movement and suddenly changed the 40-year-old debate over nuclear strategy.

In recent months Star Wars proponents have stopped stressing the technical perfectability of SDI, which they now admit could never provide a perfect shield, and started playing up the alleged moral issues. The newly-idealistic Reagan Administration now offers an alternative to the threat of human extinction, and, Star Wars advocates argue, a vision of a nuclear free future more achievable, enduring and attractive than that offered by the Freeze Campaign. When the beauty of the Star Wars solution to the current dilemma becomes more widely recognized, their argument continues, the lines between antinuclear activists, pro-deterrence arms-controllers, and hard-line hawks will blur, as members of all three groups realize how little actual security their efforts have produced. Eventually all will seek the moral and technological high ground.

Star Wars-niks have drawn detailed plans (*see story which follows, page 12*) to capitalize on the perceived appeal of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and proudly point to Zbigniew Brzezinski, formerly of the deterrence camp, and Jonathan Schell as recent converts. Brzezinski wrote in a January *New York Times Magazine* article, with Robert Jastrow and Max Kampelman, that Star Wars aims to make "nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete." And Schell argued, in his 1984 book, *The Abolition*, that antinuclear defenses would be necessary to maintain stability in a "minimum deterrence" future.

Inspired by Schell's qualified endorsement of ABM systems and by his expressed interest in combining defenses with drastic reductions in the nuclear stockpile, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., in a recent *Washington Post* column, wrote that Star Wars is creating a split in the freeze movement. "A Star Wars Caucus in the Freeze Movement?" asked the headline of a February *Wall Street Journal* article by editorial writer Gregory Fossedal.



Both articles imply that Schell now endorses Star Wars. However, Schell told NUCLEAR TIMES that his thinking on defense has not changed since he wrote last year in *The Abolition* that SDI could not possibly defend against all delivery vehicles, and that defensive systems must *follow* disarmament, not precede it.

Although most SDI advocates want a defense system now and disarmament in the future, Fossedal asks why the antinuclear movement will not accept a compromise "freeze and defend" strategy. "It makes a lot more sense to attack the sword, not the shield," Fossedal says. "I don't think the rank-and-filers of the antinuclear movement are as hard core anti-Star Wars as the leadership." He accuses the antinuclear community of reacting in a "kneejerk, anti-Reagan" way to Star Wars.

Fossedal has personally approached antinuclear leaders to talk about a joint "freeze and defend" platform. He asks: "What if we did Star Wars and not the MX? . . . maybe Congress can force Reagan to trade off some policies." That argument, counters one antinuclear lobbyist, is not supportable because it is too hypothetical, and because defense systems would be too destabilizing. The idea of defense in a minimal deterrence situation is interesting, says Raoul Rosenberg, associate director of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), but that is not what Star Wars is.

But, to an extent, there *is* a split within the Freeze movement, not as a result of writers like Fossedal or Schell, but because of what Randy Kehler, the former head of the Freeze Campaign, calls the soft support for the freeze that 70 to 80 percent of Americans have exhibited. "At least as high a percentage support Star Wars," Kehler says, so a lot of people are either changing their minds or supporting both ideas. Wendy Silverman, PSR's legislative director, agrees, noting that the leaders of the antinuclear community are "much more skeptical about Star Wars than the grass roots are." But, Silverman adds, "We have not yet begun to fight."

Silverman and other Washington lobbyists say that most antinuclear organizations took a wait-and-see position after President Reagan's seminal March 23, 1983, Star Wars speech, and are only now gearing up to fight the issue. Elections, the MX and other weapon systems have topped their agenda, and

ILLUSTRATION BY LLOYD DANGLE

Star Wars has remained a nebulous concept. The Administration is still debating whether SDI will be a "point" (missile silo) defense system to "enhance" deterrence, an umbrella defense to protect populations and replace the MAD (mutual assured destruction) doctrine, or some kind of hybrid. One lobbyist adds: "Right now it is only research, and you can't fight funding for research."

But that is changing. Both the Freeze Campaign and PSR are concentrating on Star Wars more heavily as the realization that it is here to stay is sinking in. Star Wars is not going to be negotiated away, former SALT I negotiator Gerard Smith said at a recent New York luncheon. After getting the public excited about a "magic bullet" to ease their nuclear fears, Reagan cannot go to the public two years from now, Smith argued, and say, "Remember that wonderful defense system I told you about that would make nuclear weapons obsolete? Well, we traded it for fewer Soviet heavy missiles."

"HIGH" IDEALS

The big question that is still unanswered is: What does the public—the soft middle—think of Star Wars and how will that opinion change as campaigns for and against it heat up?

A Harris Survey conducted in early March shows that about 52 percent of Americans believe SDI would make the Russians more willing to sign a new arms control treaty. But 75 percent said that SDI would lead the Russians to develop weapons that could circumvent our defense. A January *New York Times*/CBS News survey also seemed self-contradictory. It showed that while 62 percent of the public thought the SDI system would work, 54 percent agreed that it would "make the arms race more dangerous than it is now."Other polls have shown more substantial percentages favoring SDI. A recent Gallup Poll found that 60 percent of men back Star Wars, and only 43 percent of women.

The first thing to recognize about the appeal of SDI is that it is *designed* to be appealing. In his 1983 speech, Reagan asked: "Wouldn't it be better to save lives than to avenge them?" Those who favor space weapons even express concern for the *Soviet* people (while remaining ideologically anti-Soviet).

In a February 20, 1985 speech, Ambassador Paul Nitze described a "Strategic Concept" (approved by the President and the Secretary of State) that outlines U.S. nuclear policy goals for the next 10 years. By way of introducing the Concept, Nitze said that deterrence "is unsatisfactory" because "the potential costs of a breakdown are immense . . . because of continuing massive Soviet deployments."

If Nitze included the United States' role in the arms race, then he would be mouthing what many antinuclear activists and the Catholic Bishops have been saying for years. Except for references to defensive weapons, the four-sentence-long Concept is right out of a Freeze Campaign pamphlet. It begins by calling for "a radical reduction in the power of existing and planned offensive nuclear arms," and ends by describing the United States' ultimate objective as "a world free of nuclear arms."

The language and the goals are grandiose; no discussion of limited point defense here. But a White House booklet called "The President's Strategic Defense Initiative," which is designed more for students of strategy than for the public, specifically states in a section called *Why SDI?*: "Providing a better, more stable basis for enhanced deterrence is the central purpose of the SDI program." (If this is so then, in the words of one Washington lobbyist, "Star Wars is the new basing mode for the MX.") Of course it makes sense not to talk too much about enhanced deterrence and missile defense if you are an SDI advocate because then you are only saving missiles, and not people, and you lose what Leon Wiesel-

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Freeze Folk: The High Frontier Wants YOU

Last summer, Richard Garwin, the physicist and nuclear weapons expert who is a leading opponent of SDI, received an unsolicited envelope in the mail. Eventually he turned the contents over to a friend at the Council for Economic Priorities (CEP) in New York, who last month showed it to NUCLEAR TIMES. The envelope contained a strategy paper under the heading, "A Proposed Plan for Project on BMD [Ballistic Missile Defense] and Arms Control." Scrawled on the cover were the words, "Not for Release." No author's name appears on the report, which recommends "disarming" BMD opponents "by stealing their language and cause (arms control)."

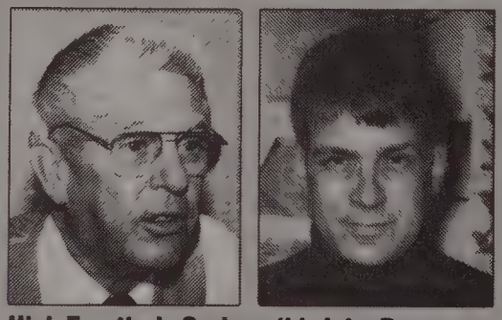
Through a tip supplied by Garwin and CEP, the paper was traced by NUCLEAR TIMES to John Bosma, the editor of *Military Space*, a Washington, D.C.-based newsletter which supports the concepts embodied in its title. Bosma readily accepted authorship, though he expressed "surprise and chagrin" that his 11-page, single-spaced memorandum, intended for internal use, had leaked out and has, he said, "arrived in some very senior Administration places." He said he has no idea how it got to Garwin.

Bosma said he submitted the paper to High Frontier, the Washington education/lobby group which supports a nonnuclear version of Reagan's Star Wars, in February 1984 as he was winding down his full-time work there. He received a $1000 consultant fee for it and "other work," but returned the money the following month because, he said, he was disturbed by High Frontier's supposed connections with the Unification Church. He claims the Moonies provided substantial start-up money to High Frontier.

General Daniel Graham, director of High Frontier, told NUCLEAR TIMES that he never read Bosma's strategy paper. "We didn't start High Frontier as an arms control measure," Graham pointed out. He also denied receiving even "one dime" from the Unification Church, although he admitted that both he and his deputy director, General Robert Richardson, serve on the advisory board of *Causa*, an organization which sponsors conferences for influential audiences on international issues, and which, according to Graham, *has* received Moonie money.

Whatever the facts surrounding the writing and withdrawal of the memo, the antinuclear movement is lucky to have it. It paints a dramatic picture of the "political and emotional packaging," under the cover of arms control, by which the Reagan Administration can sell Star Wars to the American public.

Bosma contends that this approach of linking SDI to disarmament is, in fact, "percolating through" the Administration, from Reagan on down. This is impossible to prove but it is interesting that, since Bosma drafted his paper, SDI proponents have stopped stressing the technical capabilities of the system and started pushing the purported "moral" aspects.



High Frontier's Graham (l.); John Bosma

In fact, Bosma suggested this very shift in his paper. The space program, Bosma wrote, should "be driven by ethical urgency, rather than by technology availability . . . It is important to try to capture—and capitalize on—existing 'urgent' movements, of which the freeze is the most prominent example."

Bosma's paper suggested that Star Wars advocates "focus on high road themes," making it "politically risky for BMD opponents to invoke alleged 'arms control arguments' against an early BMD system." By the strategy of "recapturing the term 'arms control' and all of the idealistic images and language attached to it," Bosma hoped to make Star Wars "impossible to turn off by 1989"—that is, by any future administration, Republican or Democrat.

To make Star Wars irreversible, the paper advocated, among other things, "an ethical approach . . . with a heavy overlay of theology." (Bosma acquired his own overlay during a two-year stint in a Presbyterian seminary.) Thus, Star Wars advocates could join forces with freeze advocates concerned with the immorality of holding entire populations hostage to nuclear attack. In fact, Bosma saw "liberals, moderates and even the Freeze itself" as a natural constituency for his formula: "Arms control through BMD = Nuclear Disarmament."

The "quick co-opting of 'arms control' arguments" could be carried out in any of three ways, Bosma wrote. Each would give the appearance that Star Wars is not simply, as Bosma put it, a "right-wing" cause.

The first would involve utilizing a high-profile, mainstream "personality," such as (surprisingly) Henry Kissinger. The second: forming an arms control "study group" that would produce a popular book. The third, which Bosma seemed to favor, calls for forming a new, "centrist" umbrella group embracing many divergent organizations and philosophies, united only by support for space defenses. The group would issue "a few simple statements of principle (as was used so effectively by freeze groups)." The initial audience for the umbrella effort would be, Bosma stated, the type of people who read *Commentary* magazine—neoconservative Democrats. But Bosma also called for "special efforts" to attract neoliberals and moderates, and "briefings for peace groups." Pro-BMD people, Bosma wrote, should pay special attention to Catholic peace groups and "nuclear ethicists" and produce a "compilation of theological positions justifying BMD."

Confronted during a telephone interview with the ethical contradiction of stealing moral language, Bosma laughed, then explained: "Perhaps I should not have put it so opportunistically, but I wrote it before I knew that Jonathan Schell was writing his series called 'Abolition' in *The New Yorker*. What I was essentially suggesting was exactly what the Reagan Administration has done—they have taken over Jonathan Schell."

—Henry Epstein

"A simple approach, not depending on intellectual or political conversion . . . can break out pro-BMD interest from liberals or moderates, while permitting them to modulate their own approaches to arms control. (This takes advantage of the fact that under a BMD posture, there are many arms control variations, such as a freeze or build-down in offense forces, that start looking good suddenly.) Also, *with appropriate political and emotional packaging, this approach may be able to tap the freeze constituency* (i.e. the 'do *something*' approach to arms control) by talking for a freeze *plus* BMD for disarmament. . . . It is very likely that the freeze movement, paradoxically, represents the best mass constituency for an early BMD system—but only if an unorthodox and radical approach to selling BMD to peace groups is undertaken by someone or some group."

—from the Bosma paper

PHOTO (LEFT) COURTESY HIGH FRONTIER

tier of *The New Republic* calls the "moral glamour" of Star Wars.

The public face of Star Wars is attractive, and many activists are clearly worried about that attraction. "We should take Star Wars very, very seriously—it is going to be hard to stop because it is so appealing," Randy Kehler says. He adds that "the [R&D] spin-offs will be enormous" so that it will be in the economic interests of many to support the project and try to get a piece of the action. Richard Healey of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy points out that "SDI will develop a new infrastructure of contractees which will create a whole new self-perpetuating system."

In fact, the system is already being created. Last December the Department of Defense granted its first 10 SDI research contracts for $1 million each. If past defense contracts are any guide, at least some of that money will be funneled through public advocacy or trade groups, which will help sell Star Wars. And a recent *New York Times* article was filled with glowing reports of possible private sector spin-offs from Star Wars research.

CATCH A RISING STAR

Kehler, along with other antinuclear leaders, argues that SDI also has great psychological appeal. "Bemoaning the loss of the frontier is part of the American character," Kehler says, and Star Wars, or the "high frontier," will open up space as a military frontier. Star Wars is also a question of faith in technology, Kehler says. While it can be attacked on the grounds of relying on untested computers, the possibility of winning a high-tech race is exciting to many Americans.

But William Kincade, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, and a former director of the Arms Control Association, argues that there is a great deal of "residual skepticism" even among ostensible Star Wars supporters in the Pentagon. "The joke in Washington," Kincade says, "is that everyone is in it for the buck and the only true believers are the President, Cap Weinberger and [Science Adviser] George Keyworth. We've been through two cycles of missile defense in the '50's and '60's and half of one in the '70's, and the notion of defense is always very appealing. But in every case the public has proven quite persuadable of the serious disadvantages of defense." He argues that offensive technology has steadily widened its lead over defensive systems since 1945 and that a missile defense will result in new emphasis on stealth and cruise missile technologies.

When Star Wars proponents argue that people like Kincade are too negative, and recall that, against long odds, America succeeded in putting a man on the moon, opponents of SDI usually counter this way: "Yes, but this is more like putting a man on the *sun*," or "Yes, but the moon doesn't shoot back."

But Randy Kehler advises against arguing that Star Wars will not work—"Who are we to say that something is impossible?"—and says that the violation of the ABM treaty argument has "zero public appeal." He prefers comparing Star Wars with a freeze-and-reduce strategy, showing how the latter comes out on top in every criterion from cost to morality, from practicality to stability.

"Star Wars is an easy way out," Kehler adds. "Organizations like High Frontier and the Heritage Foundation are going to pump millions and millions into this. People are going to see this in their favorite magazines and hear about it on the radio. The only way I know to combat this is to use what has always been our main strength: organizing people to people, door to door, community by community. We first have to learn about Star Wars and second, before trying to argue against it, go out and listen to people. Too few activists do that. Instead, they have a position and they let people know what that is."

Most SDI opponents look at Star Wars not as another weapons system but as an overall vision of national security, and they are countering it with their own visions. In some ways, this represents a golden opportunity; these comparisons can make antinuclear arguments more effective. Instead of comparing a freeze, say, to a line item in the defense budget, opponents can now compare their vision of the future to Star Wars. "SDI is a belief in a technological solution to the nuclear dilemma over a political solution," argues PSR's Silverman. "And we are going to counter it by showing that a political solution is possible."

—Douglas Lavin

Low Frontier: A New Encirclement Policy?

In the current debate over the Strategic Defense Initiative, the Administration has concealed a cost-effective way to close the window of vulnerability. At the risk of prosecution under National Security Directive 84, we are going public with it. Instead of attempting to protect America's land-based missiles with antiballistic missiles, or particle beams, we advocate a root-based defense (RBD). The Army, Navy, and Air Force should put aside interservice rivalry and move to surround our Minuteman silos with trees.

Though the strategic importance of trees has been a matter of speculation

since Birnam Wood came to Dunsinane, new developments make it an overarching concern. Documents obtained under the Freedom from Information Act reveal that the United States trails the Soviet Union in the Nuclear Winter race by a ratio of 2.7 to 1.

This gap is, literally, growing. Here's why: The 1000 key American missile silos are in a 10 percent forested area; the 1400 key Soviet missile silos are 27 percent forested. Smoke, not dust, is the major factor in Nuclear Winter. In the event of a nuclear strike *their* forests will burn while *our* wheat fields only smolder.

Unless we take prompt countermeasures, an American president will have no alternative between surrender and suicide. He will suffer debilitating self-deterrence, knowing that even a successful American first strike would lead to Nuclear Winter, while a Soviet first strike would not. A root-based defense would cover this fire gap and increase the uncertainties facing Soviet planners.

Some may mistake this for a proposal stemming from the Green Party or fear that it would come under the jurisdiction of the National Parks Service, with restricted access to private enterprise. Nothing could be further from the truth. The idea in fact germinated in the Congressional Caucus on Science and Technology, which believes, as we do, that Root Defense will also offer applications for biotechnology and recombinant-DNA.

Planting trees around our missiles might lead the Soviets to conclude that the West had once again adopted a policy of encirclement. And, of course, the Soviets might perceive some incentive to attack while our defense was still visibly in the sapling stage. In our opinion, however, it is premature to say whether this initiative should be subject to negotiation. On the one hand, Root Defense would provide raw material for bargaining chips. On the other, we agree with the Heritage Foundation that tree trunks have no place on the table. The question could be explored during a long walk in the woods.

—Caroline Bleumle and David Keppel

ILLUSTRATION BY LLOYD DANGLE

SILO BLOW

Pruning Hooks Get 18 Years

Prior to her federal court trial in Kansas City, Missouri, peace activist Helen Dery Woodson, 41, told a newspaper reporter, "Fathers have left home for generations to go to war. Somehow we expect peacemaking not to require these sacrifices. And mothers aren't exempt." On March 27, Woodson, who is a single parent of 11 children—seven adopted children, six of them handicapped, live in her home—was convicted by a jury for her part in damaging a nuclear missile silo near Higginsville, Missouri last November, when she and three others belted the massive hatch cover with sledgehammers, and worked it over with a 90-lb. compressor-driven jackhammer. U.S. District Judge D. Brook Bartlett sentenced Woodson and a co-defendant, the Reverend Carl Kabat, to 18 years in prison—two consecutive nine year terms on counts of sabotaging national defense property and destruction of government property.

Morgan jackhammers the silo; Carl and Paul Kabat, Woodson and Morgan (l. to r.)

Their two co-defendants, Larry Cloud-Morgan and the Reverend Paul Kabat (the Kabats are brothers and both are priests in the Roman Catholic order of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate) received eight and 10 year prison sentences, respectively, plus probationary terms.

The four disarmament activists call themselves the "Silo Pruning Hooks," from the Book of Isaiah. ("They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks.") The severity of the sentences they received goes far beyond what the government has dealt out previously to other activists in the largely Catholic "Plowshares" movement. Plowshares defendants who have entered private corporations and military bases to hammer and throw blood on a variety of nuclear weapons-related machinery have received sentences of three years on average. Last year in Minneapolis, Federal Judge Miles Lord ordered six months probation and released a man and a woman convicted of damaging $30,000 worth of military computers at a suburban Sperry plant. Indeed, the 18-year sentences given to Woodson and Kabat are perhaps the heaviest sanctions issued in the history of nonviolent civil disobedience in the

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According to U.S. Attorney Robert Ulrich in Kansas City, the Silo Pruning Hooks will have to serve one-third of their sentences before becoming eligible for parole. Ulrich, who told NUCLEAR TIMES that he had considered charging the four with espionage, which carries a life sentence, explained that under the federal rules Judge Bartlett has 120 days in which to reduce the sentences, if he so chooses.

The four activists have filed notices of appeal, according to their legal advisor Henry Stoever, who said that a motion for reconsideration of the sentences will also be filed. Individuals in the Plowshares community have called on supporters to write letters to the judge and urge reductions of the sentences.

In a telephone interview the week following the sentencing in Kansas City, U.S. Attorney Ulrich commented, "I'm satisfied that the outcome has communicated, as best possible, to individuals who would intentionally destroy government property and national defense property, that to do so could result in serious consequences."

This message, however, has already gone unheeded. On the morning of April 18, six people calling themselves the Trident II Pruning Hooks entered the Quonset Point Electric Boat facility in Rhode Island and hammered on three Trident missile launch tubes. They were arrested and charged with felonies.

—Mordecai Specktor

ON THE MARCH

April Actions Draw 100,000

More than 100,000 demonstrators in four cities turned out on April 20 for the so-called "spring actions" protesting Reagan Administration policies. Although the Washington, D.C. rally and march was the focus of national attention, the most impressive turnout was in San Francisco, where 50,000 to 70,000 marched on a drizzly day. "It was a tremendous success," said Howard Wallace, a march organizer. "The pre-rally publicity was terrible but afterwards the press coverage was excellent. They called it 'huge.'" Smaller crowds, in the 4000 to 8000 range, turned out in Los Angeles and Seattle.

An orderly march up Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. was just one activity in a four-day weekend that also featured a lobbying day on Capitol Hill (which drew 1000 activists) and civil disobedience (which resulted in a solid 312 arrests, the largest CD action out-

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side the White House in years). The march drew somewhere between 26,000 (the police estimate) and 75,000 (the organizers' guess) participants. While the intermingling of speeches, banners and marchers denouncing apartheid, aid to the *contras*, and nuclear weapons was heartening, the prediction by many leaders of antinuclear groups—that *their* issue would not stand out—was realized. A *New York Times* report on the march did not even mention the nuclear aspect until the fifteenth paragraph; the *Washington Post* article got to it in paragraph number 22. **—Ed Hacker**

DOCTORED FILES

PSR vs. FBI

Almost three years after the Federal Bureau of Investigation refused to release its investigatory files on the Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), the agency has made public 18 pages of documents. More than 200 lines of deleted material, however, remains classified and exempt from disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act. The material has been withheld to protect the anonymity of confidential FBI sources who may still be functioning within PSR. Another reason cited by the FBI for withholding the material is that it is "information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to [President Reagan's] Executive Order 12356 in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy."

In January, PSR filed a complaint in federal court in Washington, D.C. demanding that the FBI release the complete contents of its PSR file to the group and stop all current surveillance. The 18 pages of now-public information reveal that agency spies reported on PSR chapters in San Francisco, New York and Boston in 1982, around the time of the historic disarmament rally in New York. Except where the reports quote PSR's own literature, the information is "riddled with inaccuracies," claims PSR's Executive Director Jane Wales.

"It's a mystery to me why they would be wasting their time investigating PSR and its activities," Wales adds. "We're a public organization and essentially what we do is try to bring attention to our work and our message. We're not in the business of covering up our work."

One report from Boston found that a "review of information available within the Boston [FBI] Division's files failed to reflect any Communist Party of the United States affiliation on the part of the Boston Chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility." The Boston agent also wrote a memorandum claiming that "Through their legal counsel, they [PSR] have advised a Special Agent of the Boston Division that they are well-aware that the Soviets and other Eastern Bloc countries may try to exploit their program for their own political ends and have taken such precautions as they can to prevent this."

"That statement is hogwash," responds PSR president-elect Dr. H. Jack Geiger, who was a board member in 1982. "We didn't have legal counsel then and no such representation was ever made." Geiger says no "precautions" were taken. "The very idea that somebody taking a position on U.S. policy needs to take precautions with regard to the action of any other country is an absurdity. The same accusation used to be made by southern racists against civil rights workers, claiming that they were somehow helping the Soviet Union."

What PSR would like to achieve through its lawsuit, says Wales, is "an end to intelligence gathering. We don't know whether they are continuing any investigation of us, but we would like to make sure they are not. The potential for harassment is always there when the FBI believes they have a reason to be gathering information on an organization."

But according to James Hall, the Freedom of Information chief at the FBI, "Organizations and corporations do not have privacy; they've given up their privacy by going public." FBI files, he explains, are maintained "for law enforcement purposes. . . . That doesn't mean that the information regarding an organization is derogatory."

PSR leaders claim the FBI has no reason to investigate and they stress that the agency has not hindered PSR's effectiveness or ability to gain members.
—Susan Jaffe

FUNDS IN THE SPOTLIGHT

Money Changes Everything

The nation's largest military contractors have doubled their political donations since President Reagan took office, with the top 20 companies pouring $3.6 million into 1984 races, according to latest PAC figures. Top giver: Lockheed ($420,191). Top taker: Senator John Warner ($80,050). While Rockwell donations shot up 450 percent, its military contracts soared from $1 billion to $8.4 billion. Only Senator to receive more than $30,000 from these PACs in 1984 and oppose the MX in the latest vote: J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana.

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Hiroshima-Nagasaki Days

40 Days In The Desert

"The 40th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki need not just be a commemoration," says Jim Rice, director of Sojourners Peace Ministry in Washington, D. C., and a national contact for the August Desert Action. "It's also a time to state a clear political agenda, and I think a ban on weapons testing is a good first step towards a freeze on nuclear

Protesters at Test Site last year

weapons. A presence at the test site is very appropriate." Sojourners is one of eight religious-oriented antinuclear groups—including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax Christi USA, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Jewish Peace Fellowship—that issued a call for nonviolent civil disobedience (CD) from August 6–9 at the Nevada Test Site.

Organizers estimate that several hundred people may be arrested during the four-day action. Each night, before a particular group of protesters enters the site, they will attend a training session and interfaith ceremony, says Michael Affleck, staff member with the Nevada Desert Experience group in Las Vegas. The following day, starting at 6 a.m., they will be bussed to the Mercury, Nevada exit off Highway 95, about 65 miles north of Las Vegas. From the highway exit, where Department of Energy property begins, a widely-spaced procession will move into the test area if the roadway has not been blocked by officials. "We will walk approximately two miles onto the test site, where the DoE has painted an arbitrary line," says Affleck. "If we cross that line we are subject to arrest on trespassing charges." (The arrest line is just past Camp Desert Rock, notes Affleck, where "atomic soldiers" camped during testing.)

In addition to DoE officials and the Nye County Sheriff's office, protesters will have to face the blistering summer heat. During nonviolence training, protesters will be advised on how to deal with the temperature, which can hit 120 degrees. Organizers plan to set up an extensive support system in the desert consisting of large tents, air conditioned vehicles, a medical staff, and sources of water. While some protesters are wandering on the test site, others will hold legal vigils at the Federal Building and the DoE office in Las Vegas. "That kind of thing will be helpful," says Affleck, "but primarily we're looking to attract people interested in being arrested."

—Alex Miller

The Road To Amarillo

They'll ride into town from Colorado, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and cities throughout Texas, from other parts of the United States, from Canada and the Soviet Union, and a group of *hibakusha* will arrive from Japan. Many will travel by bicycle, in order to speak with people about the arms race in hundreds of cities along the way. Their destination: a six-day peace encampment outside the main gate to the Pantex nuclear weapons plant in Amarillo, Texas on August 4–9, one of 40 protests at nuclear facilities during this period to be carried out by local groups and coordinated by the Mobilization for Survival.

John Stockwell, a former CIA official who went public about America's covert operations with his 1978 book, *In Search of Enemies*, is organizing the international aspects of the pilgrimage. One group of bikers will ride across Cuba, then take a train through Mexico on the way to Texas. Another group, whose bike tour is pending Soviet government approval, will begin in Moscow in late May. Last year's pilgrimage, Stockwell says, when he and his family rode with a group from Austin, "was one of the two or three most inspiring things of my entire life."

In Amarillo, the Network will sponsor a "town hall" meeting, to include representatives of the Pantex plant. At the peace camp a large gong will be sounded 70,000 times: once for each of the victims at Hiroshima and Nagasaki who died immediately from the blasts, and 70,000 paper hearts will be hung on the Pantex fence.

On the morning of August 6, Amarillo Bishop Leroy Matthiesen will help conduct an ecumenical service commemorating the bombings. After the service, a group of people will move their campsite onto the Santa Fe Railroad tracks that enter the plant. Last year, CD was ruled out because of opposition from Bishop Matthiesen, who feels that arrests alienate the "Reagan Country" community from the pilgrims. But, Matthiesen told NUCLEAR TIMES, "I don't think that trespassing on the rail tracks will have an adverse effect." A more extreme action, however, involving federal crimes, he adds, "would shut the community off."

—A.M.

Wrap-Up

A network of activists in automobiles tracked 15 trucks carrying nuclear weapons 3700 miles across the country in mid-April as part of Nukewatch's **Truck Watch** campaign. Next action: late summer or fall .... As part of a lawsuit settlement, the United States has finally agreed to clean up the **Bikini Atoll**, contaminated by nuclear tests, so that the 1200 islanders can return home .... **Jobs with Peace** conducted hearings in more than 20 cities on April 13 on the domestic and military budgets .... This year's **United Campuses** (UCAM) lobbying day on April 18 in Washington, D. C. drew 850 college students from 24 states—nearly double last year's turnout .... How strong is antinuclear **MX lobbying**? On the day of the latest vote, the office of Senator Arlen Spector of Pennsylvania received 65 calls supporting the missile, 468 against—but he voted for the missile anyway .... The **Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control** sponsored "Law Day" forums in 19 cities, May 1–3 .... The **Religious Task Force** of Mobilization for Survival is twinning American congregations and religious schools with several dozen nuclear free zone counterparts in New Zealand .... In a remarkable show of strength, the **Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign** ran ¾ page ads in 16 of the state's 18 daily newspapers during a three-day period in mid-April. The ads included pro-freeze statements by Governor Bob Kerrey and the president of the Nebraska Farmers Union, and contained the names of over 1000 people across the state .... For the first time, conspiracy charges are being brought against the organizers of **White Train** protests, a serious legal escalation .... With the help of **Peace Links**, YWCAs in 12 cities have established themselves as "Peace Sites" to "support those working actively for peace".

PHOTO BY KEVIN QUEALY

COLLEGE MIXER

Arms Control: It's Academic?

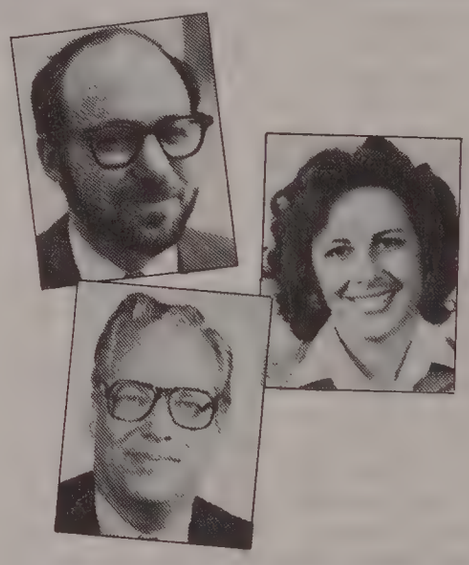
"Harvard is a bit like Mount Olympus—the mighty and the small must come to it," says Gordon Adams, director of the Defense Budget Project in Washington, D.C. "And so we have also visited Olympus. And we came away having learned some things. But we all know how the Greek gods felt about the people." Although Adams is being facetious, his comments reflect some of the frustrations that have characterized the relationship between activists and academics—the self-defined "doers" and "thinkers" of the arms control community.

To improve communication between the two camps, the Directors' Forum, a grouping of 24 heads of national organizations which have major arms control or disarmament programs, recently held its bi-monthly meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It did so in order to meet separately with two prestigious units at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government: the Avoiding Nuclear War Project and the Center for Science and International Affairs (CSIA).

What the activists and the academics have in common is a belief in the need and feasibility of negotiating arms control with the Soviet Union. But where they differ—and it is this difference that is the cause of much of the tension between the groups—is how they seek to influence the political process. In a simplified fashion the difference can be characterized as follows: The academics offer their expertise and advice, from a comfortable setting, to often receptive policy makers; the activists seek to arouse the larger public in opposition to policy makers, usually with meager resources. There are political differences between the groups, as well.

A memorandum from the Directors' Forum Agenda Committee in March stated that the Harvard meetings were to provide an opportunity "for information exchange" as well as to "explore ways that our common agendas can be advanced by continued communication." What the memorandum failed to say is how difficult these objectives have been to achieve in the past—and how seldom these groups have attempted to communicate with each other.

Based on interviews with participants, it appears that the meetings provided a useful opportunity to share information and political perspectives. "It was very beneficial to spend a day with people who sit around thinking about these things all the time," says David Riley, director of Friends of the Earth's Arms Control Education Project. "We can get a broader perspective beyond 'how do we get so and so to change their vote'." Those from Harvard found the exchange valuable as well. "Some of these people are on the front line," says Steve Flanagan, assistant director at the CSIA. "We can learn about the political scene from them."



Clockwise from left: Isaacs, Mulhauser, Doty

But given the differences in the way these two groups approach the problems around nuclear weapons—and the fact that the academics are careful to maintain their institution's appearance of impartiality and objectivity—how useful is this sort of exchange in the long run?

OWLISH ON AMERICA

The Harvard study group on avoiding nuclear war is spearheaded by Albert Carnesale and Joseph Nye, Jr., both high-level Harvard faculty who have been in and out of government. Nye served in the Carter Administration. In 1970–72, during the Nixon Administration, Carnesale was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. "These are the folks who feed into government," says Jane Wales, executive director of Physicians for Social Responsibility. "They will be in future administrations."

This project was initiated in 1983 with a $1.5 million grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Its mandate, as described by Carnesale: first, to develop a conceptual framework for looking at the problem of avoiding nuclear war; second, to develop a course of action; and third, to engage the policy-making community. The meeting with the peace directors was seen as fulfilling the third directive.

The study group has just published a book entitled *Hawks, Doves and Owls: An Agenda for Avoiding Nuclear War* (W.W. Norton). As the title suggests, the authors seek a third path between that of the "hawks" and "doves," focusing on non-controversial "risk reduction measures" for avoiding or managing nuclear crises and improving communications between the superpowers. This book follows another Harvard study done by many of the same people—the controversial primer, *Living with Nuclear Weapons.*

Directed by Paul Doty, the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard is a less uniform group with a large number of graduate and post-doctoral students engaged in independent research. Doty was involved in the Manhattan Project and was a member of the Science Advisory Committee in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. A recent study on Star Wars by the Center's Ashton Carter has been widely cited by activists.

Spokespeople from both of the Harvard groups take pains to assert their independence from any specific policy or organization. They are analysts, not advocates. It is precisely this objectivity bestowed upon expertise—and the resources to pursue topics in depth—that traditionally has distinguished academics in most fields of endeavor and has endowed them with an important role in decision-making.

But, of course, members of the Harvard arms control community and the groups they work with do hold certain political beliefs, and they do promote specific policies based on these beliefs. For example, both *Living with Nuclear Weapons* and *Hawks, Doves and Owls* accept the need to continually "modernize" U.S. forces. In the name of maintaining a credible deterrent, the authors favor a nuclear striking force that can provide "limited nuclear options"; favor the MX missile despite some misgivings; and oppose a comprehensive nuclear

freeze and a no-first-use policy.

"These academics," comments one peace group director, "can't help but be activists in their own way, but they are activists, by and large, for the status quo." Carla Johnston, who is affiliated both with CSIA and several public interest groups, adds: "As professionals in the established arms control community, where if one plays the game in a certain way one continues to get contracts and retain the respect of one's colleagues within the community, there are strict parameters as to how creative one can be." Carnesale, for example, currently is a consultant for the Department of Defense and the Department of State. Nye is a member of an official advisory committee working on non-proliferation for the State Department.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Despite the gulf separating the academics from the activists, and in part because of it, most of the peace leaders feel that meetings like these are useful. And Harvard academics said in interviews that they think they did indeed give the activists some food for thought. An example that Carnesale cites was that the activists "came away with our feeling that SDI [the Strategic Defense Initiative] was of far greater importance than some of the other things they were thinking of, such as the MX and the testing bans." Nye says that he took the opportunity to explain the Avoiding Nuclear War group's "risk reduction agenda" to the directors.

Discussions during the meetings did not address areas where there were political differences between the academics and the activists. The academics play down those differences. "I would suspect that it is not as if the positions are that divergent—it is the role of the academics that distinguishes us," says Nye. "We each have comparative advantages. We [the academics] put new ideas before the public in written form." Another "comparative advantage" for the academics cited by Carnesale: "We know the executive branch and they [the activists] expend most of their effort on The Hill." This difference beween the groups was identified by several participants at the meetings as providing opportunity for useful exchange of information.

For Richard Healey, director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the meeting represented an initial step by the national peace leadership to consider long-term strategy and goals. He came to the meeting hoping for "confrontation and sparks" and left satisfied that both Harvard groups had constructively challenged the directors' legislative agenda. He would now like to see the directors' group meet with historians, theologians and leaders of other mass movements.

As a result of this first meeting, a gathering of academics and activists to discuss SDI may be in the offing. SDI provokes outright opposition from some of the traditional arms control academics.

OKAY BIAS?

Some of the peace directors are attracted to the influence that the Harvard academics appear to wield and express the hope, as Karen Mulhauser of Citizens Against Nuclear War put it, "that we can expand that list of experts who will speak our message. They are the ones who are called in to testify to Congress. We have to beg to be heard. They are given the attention by the policy makers."

But others in the directors' group question how influential the academic arms controllers are, especially given the current Administration. "Those who come from the field, like ex-government and ex-military officials, have far more credibility than academics," said John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World (CLW). Jerome Grossman, president of CLW, wonders whether the academic "back-up" is necessary: "As a matter of fact, I think that every year it is becoming clearer that the debate is not technical, it is not scientific, it is political. To the extent that it becomes a political fight, us versus them, the less you need the academics."

Some activists remain disappointed and bitter that the traditional arms controllers failed to support or respect the original freeze proposal. Lack of support, says David Riley, deprived the freeze of some badly needed intellectual respectablity. And at least one member of the directors' group left the meeting more wary of academics than when he arrived. "I was very disturbed," says the activist, who does not wish to be identified. "I couldn't sleep afterwards. I would expect to see people like that in the Reagan Pentagon, arguing about how many missiles can fit on the head of a pin. They're more involved in detached theorizing than in stopping the arms race —more a part of the problem than the solution."

"I assume that everyone has a bias," says Jerry Grossman. "I know that most of these people [academic arms control experts] have government contracts. I know they aren't going to risk their future by alienating any part of the power structure. Nevertheless, they have time and inclination and data and skills to put ideas together that we would all benefit from considering." **—Katherine Magraw**

Katherine Magraw was the assistant legislative director of the Council for a Livable World and is currently a doctoral candidate in political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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TROPICAL TOURS

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Women at the Wire
Edited by
Barbara Harford and Sarah Hopkins

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BY RAOUL ROSENBERG

Disarm SDI With CTB

Have we lost?

We have an unprecedented nationwide infrastructure of grandmothers, doctors and others willing to burn out at a moment's notice, but our ideas are on no one's negotiating table, critical legislation is in no committee's hopper, our movement is on no front page. In short, we don't have our feet in the door. And into the public relations vacuum rushes Star Wars, crafted to knock the arms controllers off guard, confusing our arguments and weakening the resolve of our constituency.

Star Wars, Geneva talks fueling nuclear modernization, Reagan's new abolitionist rhetoric—these are the offspring of our efforts.

We mobilized public opinion with the fear of nuclear war and offered the freeze as our solution. But our solution has lost its momentum.

Helen Caldicott is going back to Australia this year. Schell is studying strategic defense. Forsberg talks of shifting our focus to non-intervention and ending violence as a means of settling international disputes. The strength of the Freeze Campaign, so vital to the movement, is undermined by its own brand of participatory democracy. Across the movement, chapters and local groups are despairing of direction. And funders are sick of supporting the movement's genetic diversity.

Have we lost our historic opportunity? Have we squandered away the first real awakening of antinuclear public opinion since the early 1960's?

It is only because we suffer from the impetuosity of our founding vision that some might mark us defeated. In the name of avoiding imminent apocalypse we have confused our ambitious goals with realizable, short-term tactics. To win our ultimate objectives we will have to overturn decades of multilaterally entrenched nuclear doctrine. To look into Department of Energy Military Applications Hearings or read the *Nuclear Weapons Databook* is to be overwhelmed by the enormity of what we face. We have barely begun to touch the problem. But we have not failed; we have just begun.

Raoul Rosenberg is associate director of Physicians for Social Responsibility.

LOST AND FOUND

Clearly we are at a stage in our evolution when we are seeking equilibrium between our identities as Washington pressure lobby and nationwide movement. Neither can be effective alone. Arms control without the force of

public opinion is weak and bankrupt. But a movement without a sophisticated Washington presence is lost in a naive vision of perfect democracy.

I just moved to Washington after three years of grass-roots work in New York state (most recently as head of the Downstate New York Freeze) to work on a campaign for a Comprehensive Test Ban with Physicians for Social Responsibility. After witnessing legislators justify their pro-MX votes as pro-arms control, I am nonetheless exhilarated by what I have found in Washington: a large, supportive, respected body of energetic activists—with access. The headlines don't reveal how powerful we have become.

We were defeated on the MX, but did astoundingly well under the most trying circumstances. The vote marked perhaps the beginning of the institutionalization of the grass-roots arms control movement. Congress and the press took healthy notice of our well-oiled machine, a machine that depends on the strength of the *grass roots*.

But, unfortunately, focusing on the MX is the easy part. It's a vulnerable missile, handed to us by Reagan's agenda. Are we too weak to set our own agenda?

We are faced with tough choices that hinge on our self-definition.

The antinuclear movement can retreat in the second Reagan term, expanding its definition to cover a broad left agenda, focusing on the "correct" but unwinnable fights, and guaranteeing our marginalization as effectively as did the antinuclear movement and the British Labour Party after Thatcher's reelection.

Or we can hunker down for some serious long-term work to stop, bilaterally, the qualitative nuclear arms race. Otherwise Star Wars will surely fill the vacuum we leave.

STRIKE UP THE BAN

If we choose to hunker down we face a public relations hurdle. The public sees us opposing U.S. systems but understands little about how our measures can be bilateral.

Our short-term focus seems obvious—we must emphasize that the most verifiable, uncomplicated, bilateral measure that can be taken to halt the qualitative nuclear arms race is being actively suppressed by this Administration. If this Administration is really serious about ending the offensive arms race, it could easily move to end all nuclear explosions permanently, a measure that is verifiable down to the lowest levels of military utility. A Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) would curb both vertical and horizontal proliferation, and even the far right wants to keep thermonuclear weapons out of Qaddafi's hands.

Perhaps we have not finished laying the educational groundwork for an effective CTB strategy. We have created a virtual consensus that nuclear war is not winnable or survivable and that the nuclear arms race is indeed madness, but we have not yet convinced the American public that continued modernization and testing are part of that madness. It is a mistake to assume a movement can survive by Washington-focused lobbying alone. The Freeze Campaign, for example, was much stronger before it moved on from its media-effective policy of local and statewide referenda and town meetings.

Yet we are nothing without national legislation. Some argue that the only way to remain true to our original vision is to craft bills that are comprehensive and binding enough to halt the nuclear arms race in its tracks. Isn't this what the grass roots want? But if that legislation is incapable of moving in Congress, of getting even liberal bipartisan support, aren't we constructing yet another wall to bang our collective heads against?

Unfortunately, the new Comprehensive Freeze bill will not move, and the MX fight is not enough. But the CTB, which has been written into our treaties, espoused by every president since Eisenhower (except Reagan), and demanded by almost the entire world community, is a measure that can put our feet back in

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

the door.

If we are serious about bringing the qualitative nuclear arms race to a halt, we must work with effective members of Congress from both parties to develop a workable strategy for building consensus, creating the sort of coalition that has worked daily and tirelessly on the MX.

Begin with a victory: non-binding legislation calling for the President to resume CTB negotiations. (It's called House Joint Resolution 3, sponsored by Representatives Berkley Bedell and Jim Leach. A similar measure passed in the Senate last year 77-22.) Use the victory as a springboard for binding legislation calling for a funding cutoff (or fencing of funds) for nuclear explosions, contingent upon parallel moves by the Soviet Union. Here we might suffer an initial defeat, but it will give us firm bilateral, comprehensive groundwork to come back at the problem again and again until we win.

And then we can move on with other comprehensive legislation, such as a ballistic missile flight-test moratorium or a fissile materials production cutoff.

Of course, none of our messages will be heard—all of this might be moot—unless we address the central issue of the day: Star Wars. Our work helped create the environment for Star Wars; our relative silence masks confusion and perhaps even a level of acquiescence. Only by facing the issue squarely can we expect to speak to the nation again and not just to ourselves.

We are in the business of creating political will. Already our impact has helped transform the unglamorous tasks of sloshing through the defense authorization budget or reforming interservice rivalry into issues politicians jump to claim leadership on.

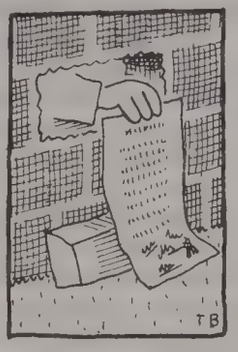
From one perspective we have already failed. We have not stopped the arms race on earth, and the prospect of an arms race in space looms before us. From another, and perhaps more realistic perspective, we must realize that we have a very long struggle on our hands. Our infrastructure will not be dismantled by a second Reagan term, nor will we simply wait for the pendulum of history to swing back in our favor. We must stop castigating ourselves for not having stopped the nuclear arms race by lunchtime.

This movement is hungry for leadership. The leaders we have must work together to help fashion legislation, and a response to Star Wars, that will at the very minimum give us a foothold in the debate—that is the empowerment the grass roots need. I believe the CTB can do this.

The bombs have not gone off. Nuclear winter notwithstanding, it is still spring. We have some work to do. □

Notes From Abroad

The independent **Czech** human rights group, Charter 77, which has been engaged for the last four years in a dialogue with Western peace activists, has produced an important discussion document about working for peace in Europe. The "Prague Appeal" is formally addressed to the European Nuclear Disarmament convention which will be held in Amsterdam in July, and has been sent to independent groups in Hungary, East Germany and Poland as well as to Western movements. The signatories call for comments and responses to the document in the hope of establishing a common framework for discussion and action.



Charter 77 was founded eight years ago to press the Czech government to abide by its ratification of the United Nations' Covenant on Political and Civil Rights. The political opinions of its signatories (or members) vary widely, and it has deliberately avoided formulating a political program.

The Prague Appeal is the most explicit document on peace in Europe that the group has produced. Its starting point is the belief that the political tensions in Europe spring from the continent's division. Emphasizing the indivisibility of peace and human and democratic rights, it suggests that the movement work on a wide variety of initiatives for the creation of "a democratic and sovereign Europe," including nuclear free zones and regional treaties of all kinds. It calls on the movement to make "full use" of the requirement that governments obey international law. It takes up the "taboo" question of Germany, affirming the right of the Germans to decide whether to unite their two countries within their present frontiers. And it calls for negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons and U.S. and Soviet troops.

To Western activists, some of the language and proposals of the Prague Appeal may seem tentative or vague. But the document is designed to foster the maximum possible cooperation between groups working under very different conditions. The process of dialogue between people working for peace in the East and West is as delicate as walking on eggshells. Members of independent groups in the East face serious harassment; in Czechoslovakia, signing a Charter 77 document can mean losing one's job, putting one's family at risk or going to jail. Many people who take such risks mistrust some Western activists' emphasis on the United States' role in the arms race over the Soviet Union's. Some Westerners, on the other hand, cannot accept what they see as the naive pro-Americanism of some Eastern groups, such as the Polish KOS. Charter 77's new initiative is a bold and potentially very important step toward a common political strategy.

• The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's (CND) longstanding suspicion that members' phones have been tapped and their mail opened was confirmed recently by a former officer of MI5, **Britain's** intelligence agency. Cathy Massiter revealed that the agency has opened files on thousands of CND members, infiltrated the Campaign's headquarters and passed on information to DS19, the special propaganda unit set up by Defense Minister Michael Heseltine to combat the peace movement. When Massiter complained that the work she was being asked to do contravened MI5's rules, she was sent to an agency psychiatrist and then forced to retire. Her story has led to a police investigation into MI5's domestic activities.

• In **Norway**, eight staff members of the peace magazine *Ikkevold* ("Nonviolence"), published by the Norwegian branch of War Resisters International, are on trial for reporting the location and function of an American military intelligence installation. The charges of violating laws on defense secrets could carry a sentence of 20 years in jail. The offending article described the Norwegian link in the United States' SOSUS (Sound Surveillance System) chain, and was based entirely on published sources and telephone interviews with personnel at military bases.

• The site for Britain's second cruise base (Greenham Common was number one), at **Molesworth** in Cambridgeshire, has been cleared of protesters and made ready for the army. A second peace camp outside the base survived. Eleven thousand protesters turned out there on April 8. Hundreds of peace groups from around the country have pledged to go to Molesworth regularly on certain days to maintain a permanent presence there.

• Eight members of the Belgian and European Parliaments were arrested on April 22 after breaking into the U.S. cruise base at Florennes in Belgium. Twelve others had been seized inside the base nine days earlier. **—Maria Margaronis**

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Ideas That Work

It's August 6 and you're late for work. In your rush, you barely notice the first ghostly shape on the sidewalk. But then you see another one—what appears to be the shadow of a small child grasping the curb. A few feet away rests the image of a cat. And there's a shadow of a woman, running, hands outstretched. What, you may well wonder, are you witnessing?

Thousands — perhaps millions — of people will have the luxury of asking themselves that question on the morning of August 6, 1985, unlike those who stumbled through the wreckage of Hiroshima exactly 40 years earlier. Those people—blinded, wounded, shocked, dying—either knew, or were beyond questioning, the significance of the shadows scattered on the surface of their burned city. Now, of course, we all know: the shadows were all that remained of the people caught within 300 yards of ground zero. They were, simply and utterly, vaporized.

Members of the International Shadow Project, founded by New York artist Alan Gussow, hope to give people a taste of the eerie aftermath of a nuclear war by mimicking the landscape of 1945 Hiroshima. Artists and activists in the United States, Canada, Europe and, Gussow hopes, New Zealand and Australia, will splash their warnings in the dark hours before the dawn of the sixth, and blanket the areas where the shadows appear with explanatory posters commemorating the day.

The idea has already had two very successful runs in New York City, in 1982, and in Portland, Oregon, the following year. Two thousand shadows were strewn on the streets and sidewalks of each city, attracting unusually wide media coverage (the story even hit Tokyo). "Some people thought that a massacre had occurred," recalls Gussow with some irony, "since the police trace the outlines of victims' bodies in a similar manner." Portland organizer Donna Grund Slepack notes that "several persons reported observing groups of people standing around the shadows on the streets of Portland. Strangers were talking to each other about nuclear war. That result was a major purpose of the project."

Even if people overlook the posters, organizers believe that media coverage will help explain the meaning of the images. And if the shadows are never explained, Gussow contends that a subliminal seed will be planted. "After all," he points out, "people will be *stepping* on the things."

And, of course, the shadow painters themselves will be affected. "This project made me begin to realize the personal horror associated with nuclear war," one Portland participant says, "it made me begin to understand that passivity around this issue was, in fact, the same as standing still, waiting to be vaporized." Gussow believes that the project satisfies a growing urge for direct action, a restlessness that cannot be placated by

writing letters or signing petitions.

But is it legal? In both cities, just a few shadow painters—out of hundreds—were arrested. (They were charged with criminal mischief in New York, which carries a minimal fine; in Portland the charges were dropped.) Gussow maintains that the activity is a form of free speech, since participants are carefully trained to paint only on public property, and the latex paint is not permanent—it has a life span of about three weeks. "Some people called our work vandalism," says Gussow, "but others responded, 'What's a worse vandalism—nuclear war or this?'"

Organizers have prepared a 30-page workbook that explains, step-by-step, how to cut and prepare the vinyl shadows, how to mix the paint that is brushed around the shadows' edges, and how to deal with legal issues, fundraising, volunteer coordination, and the media. A dozen people are needed to carry out the project in a small town, and organizers stress that it doesn't require any special skills or a lot of money.

The project is sponsored by the Portland chapter of PAND (Performers and Artists for Nuclear Disarmament), in cooperation with the Friends of the Earth Foundation USA and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Numerous disarmament and arts groups, including the Mobilization for Survival, have endorsed the project and offered logistical support. To participate, or for more information, *contact:* The International Shadow Project 1985, c/o PAND, PO Box 40233, Portland, OR 97240 (503) 248-9275. **—Renata Rizzo**

PHOTO BY JIM LOMMASSON

Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast.
Please submit events as soon as they are scheduled.
July and August events due by June 7.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

MOTHER'S DAY

Parades, picnics, rallies, marches and other local events will take place nationwide in celebration of Mother's Day on **May 12**. *Contact*: Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 691 Massachusetts Av, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-6740.

STUDENT DAY FOR PEACE

The national office of Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War (STOP) has designated **May 19** as Student Day for Peace. Local chapters are encouraged to organize events and to perform a symbolic act—for example, a march or a moment of silence—at 4:00 PM EST. *Contact:* STOP, 636 Beacon St, Boston, MA 02215 (617) 437-0035.

RIBBON PRELUDE

State chapters of The Ribbon Project are planning to encircle their state capitols on or around **May 26**. For more information *contact*: Justine Merritt, The Ribbon, PO Box 2206, Denver, CO 80201 (303) 722-0152.

WALKING FOR PEACE

Colleges, religious, and secular peace groups are organizing the second National Pilgrimage to Reverse the Arms Race. The nine-day walk will begin at Independence Mall in Philadelphia on **May 25** and end with a vigil at the White House and rally at the Capitol on **June 2**. Special events will be held in cities along the way. *Contact*: National Pilgrimage Office, Usdan Bldg, Ste 133, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02254 (617) 647-2179.

STOP SLCM's

The International Protests Against Sea-Launched Cruise Missiles will include demonstrations and nonviolent direct action at naval bases, naval facilities and weapon factories from **June 1 through June 16**. *Contact*: John Miller, Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, No. 418, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

SENECA ACTIONS

The Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice is sponsoring ongoing actions, workshops and nonviolence trainings, and a demonstration at the Seneca Army Depot, a shipping point for Pershing II missiles on their way to Europe, on **July 6**; Romulus, New York. For more information *contact*: Andrea Doremus, Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, 5440 Route 96, Romulus, NY 14541 (607) 869-5825.

ATOMIC VETS SEARCH

The National Association of Atomic Veterans is conducting the "Atomic Veterans' Manhunt," an effort to locate veterans who participated in U.S. nuclear testing programs and warn them that radiation exposure received during that time can be linked to health problems they may now be experiencing. Veterans are invited to cooperate in a medical survey. *Contact*: NAAV, PO Box 707, Eldon, MO 65026 (314) 392-3361.

MAY 11

MICHIGAN

• **Detroit** Walk, The Second Annual Legs Against Arms Walk-a-thon, in support of a weapons freeze; encircling Belle Isle. *Contact*: Detroit Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze, PO Box 2257, Detroit, MI 48226 (313) 577-5053.

• **New York** Exhibit, "Proclaiming Dreams of Peace and Justice," 75 banners from demonstrations from around the US will be shown in different locations, **through May 31**. *Contact*: Jared Pratt, Westbury Peace Center, 550 Post Av, Westbury, NY 11590 (212) 864-0207.

MAY 12

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Exhibit, "1000 Buttons," a history of civil rights, anti-war, nuclear freeze and other US peace movements through buttons; The Peace Museum, **through August 18**. *Contact*: Ruth Barrett, The Peace Museum, 430 W Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

MAY 13

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Mother's Day Ball, with Helen Caldicott presenting Sally Field and Lily Tomlin with the Helen Caldicott Leadership Award for their commitment to nuclear disarmament; Boston Park Plaza Hotel. *Contact*: Terry Schraeder, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 691 Massachusetts Av, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-6740.

MAY 16

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Civil Disobedience to protest weapons manufacturing with emphasis on the deadly connection between conventional and nuclear weapons; Honeywell Corporate Headquarters. *Contact*: Richard Seymour, The Honeywell Project, 1519 E Franklin, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 871-3753.

MAY 19

CALIFORNIA

• **Montecito** Concert, Benefit for the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, with Stephen Kelly and Tonia Shimin; Museum Academy of the West. *Contact*: David Krieger, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 1187 Coast Village Road, No 123, Santa Barbara, CA 93108 (805) 969-9137.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Lecture, "Fear and Faith," with Rev John McNamee; **on May 26**, West German journalist Peter Wingert discusses "The Peace Movement in Europe," Asbury United Methodist Church. *Contact*: Bob Smith, Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081 (215) 544-1818.

UTAH

• **Salt Lake City** Commemoration of 1953 Dirty Harry Nuclear Test. *Contact*: Monte Bright, Downwinders, 1321 East 400 South, Salt Lake City, UT 84102 (801) 583-5252.

MAY 24

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Nashua** Civil disobedience at Sanders Associates, the state's largest Pentagon contractor. *Contact*: New Hampshire Women's Peace Network, PO Box 311, Concord, NH 03301.

NEW YORK

• **Skaneateles** Conference, "Nonviolence: The Road Less Traveled," with Rev George Zabelka, former chaplain to Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb crews, and others; Stella Maris Retreat Center, **through May 26**. *Contact*: Scott Rains, Prolifers for Survival, PO Box 3316, Chapel Hill, NC 27515 (919) 942-7615.

MAY 25

CONNECTICUT

• **New London** Vigil and civil disobedience to protest the commissioning of tne Navy's sixth Trident submarine, the *USS Alabama*; Naval Underwater Systems Center. *Contact*: Joanne Sheehan, Coalition to Stop Trident, PO Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360 (203) 889-5337.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Conference, "The Rise of the Christian Conscience," a weekend of seminars, ecumenical worship and nonviolence training culminating in civil disobedience; Catholic University, **through May 28**. *Contact*: Polly Duncan, Sojourners Peace Ministry, PO Box 29272, Washington, DC 20017 (202) 636-3637.

MAY 27

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Conference, topics include "Reducing Nuclear Arms," with Paul Warnke, "Star Wars and SDI," with Richard Garwin and John Toomay, and proliferation, the future of arms control, avoiding nuclear war and other arms control issues; Westin Bonaventure Hotel, **through May 31**. *Contact*: Richard Scribner, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1776 Massachusetts Av, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 467-4475.

MAY 30

NEW YORK

• New York Auction, Architectural drawings from all over the world will be auctioned for the benefit of the NY chapter of Architects for Social Responsibility (ASR); Max Protetch Gallery, **through June 8**. *Contact:* Penny Blum, ASR, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 334-8104.

MAY 31

VERMONT

• **Wilmington** Film Festival, "Three Minutes to Midnight," a weekend of documentaries, features, shorts, lectures and group discussions on nuclear issues; Marlboro College, **through June 2**. *Contact*: George Cullinen, Vermont World Peace Film Foundation, PO Box 1242, Wilmington, VT 05363 (802) 464-5780.

JUNE 1

MINNESOTA

• **St. Paul** Third Annual Minnesota Freeze Walk, begins and ends at the state capital. *Contact*: Melinda Macey, Freeze Walk, 2401 University Av, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 644-1161.

JUNE 8

NEW YORK

• **Brooklyn** Walkathon to protest basing cruise missiles in New York Harbor will end at the Verrazano Bridge, where protesters will link arms. *Contact*: Liz Ettinger, Brooklyn Freeze Campaign, 453 6th Av, Brooklyn, NY 11215 or, for arm-linking information, David Shorr, NYPIRG, 9 Murray St, New York, NY 10007 (212) 349-6460.

JUNE 10

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Press Conference, on the anniversary of JFK's historic Test Ban Speech, with senators and congresspersons leading the effort to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban; Capitol Hill. *Contact*: Physicians for Social Responsibility, 200 Third St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 547-7990.

JUNE 16

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Lecture, "From Plowshares 8 to Hiroshima to the Buddhist Peace Pagoda," with activist John Schuchardt; on **June 23**, the film *The Day After Trinity*, about Robert Oppenheimer and the development of the atomic bomb; Asbury United Methodist Church. *Contact*: Bob Smith, Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081 (215) 544-1818.

JUNE 19

NEBRASKA

• **Sand Hills** "Solstice Celebration and Nonviolence Gathering," with speakers, workshops and spiritual practices; San Hills, **through June 23**. *Contact*: The Rocky Mountain Peace Center, PO Box 1156, Boulder, CO 80306.

JUNE 22

REGIONAL

Environmental, peace and other nonviolent groups in the tri-state area of **Montana**, **Idaho** and **Wyoming** are planning a Great Day of Peace, with block parties, celebrations and civil disobedience in local communities. *Contact*: Karl Zanzig, 401 E Spruce St, Missoula, MT 59801 (406) 549-9449.

JUNE 26

TEXAS

• **Austin** Concert, with Joan Baez: Austin City Coliseum. *Contact*: Brenda Smith, Peace and Justice Coalition, 1022 W 6 St, Austin, TX 78703 (512) 474-5877.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo and Kris Fischer

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

FILMS

Living Double Lives. Narrated by Colleen Dewhurst, this film studies the psychological effect of the nuclear threat by interviewing residents of Charlottesville, Va., which has been designated a "host city" for nearby Richmond in the event of nuclear attack. " 'Bizarre' is not an unreasonable word," one Charlottesville official maintains, "to describe this plan." Congress' Office of Technology Assessment made a detailed study of the chaos that would actually ensue in this "host city" in the aftermath of nuclear war; the study became the basis for the ABC television movie, *The Day After*. The film describes individual residents' forms of protest and resistance. (28-minute video, produced by Arlen J. Slobodow. $50 for a week's rental from Public Interest Video Network, 1736 Columbia Road NW, Washington, D.C. 20009 202-797-8997.)

Nuclear Outpost. Despite a somewhat portentous score and script, this film is a fascinating portrait of the SAC base at Minot, North Dakota, "the largest stockpile of nuclear weapons in the United States, and, like West Berlin, crucial strategic soil." Kamiel documents the daily lives of officers and participates in a B-52 practice run over Wyoming. A pilot of one of Minot's 17 B-52s, whose bag is always packed, and who is prepared to drop at least two megatons (the equivalent of "all the bombs dropped in World War II") tells her, "I don't think about it a lot, not as much you'd like me to." In another sequence inside a missile silo, an officer describes the tedium and adds, "To me, it [the job] is important enough that I'm going to do it; I have no mixed feelings." Kamiel also interviews local townspeople, most of whom are "experienced in not thinking the unthinkable." But one says, "Those missiles are protecting the U.S., but are they protecting North Dakota?" (29-minute video written and produced by Deanna Kamiel, directed by Peter Brownscombe. For rental, contact Gerald Richman or Julie Hartley, KTCA/Twin Cities Public Television, 1640 Como Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55108 612-646-4611.)

Carry Greenham Home. An extraordinary portrait of the women's encampment at Greenham, a U.S. base in Great Britain where cruise missiles are deployed. The film has no narration, and uses a *cinema verité* technique to describe the women's living conditions and their emotional and political struggles to keep their project going, and to keep it non-hierarchical and cooperative. (Produced by Beeban Kidron and Amanda Richardson. 66-minute video or 16mm film, $125 rental from Women Make Movies, Inc., 19 West 21 Street, New York, NY 10010 212-929-6477.)

Keith Haring vision in "Disarming Images"

BOOKS

Disarming Images: Art for Nuclear Disarmament. This catalog of a touring exhibition reproduces the work of 47 well-established artists in various media, including Red Grooms, Laurie Anderson, Robert Rauschenberg, Mary Frank, and Claes Oldenburg. ($14.95 paper from

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Adama Books, 306 West 38 Street, New York, NY 10018 212-594-5770. The publisher also has the exhibit's tour schedule.)

American Arms Supermarket, by Michael Klare. The author, who has written and lectured widely on the "deadly connections" between nuclear and conventional armaments, uses case studies of U.S. sales to Latin America, Iran, and the Middle East to show how the rise in weapons exports (totalling over $10 billion today) is jeopardizing American interests and global security. Klare's extensive research demonstrates that weapons sales are failures as instruments of policy in the Third World. He calls for tough new restrictions on the export of high-tech arms and of arms-manufacturing technology. ($10.95 paper, University of Texas Press.)

STAR WARS

The Dream of an Impenetrable Shield: Ballistic Missile Defense in the Nuclear Age. This slide show puts the policy in perspective by offering an excellent, brief history. This is actually the third time defense against ballistic missiles has been proposed. And the problem with the $60 billion in research and development that Reagan wants is that it would create a "powerful infrastructure," a veritable SDI industry. (25-minute slide show by Barry M. Casper and Robert K. Goldman. $25 sale, plus $5 postage and handling from Nuclear War Graphics Project, 100 Nevada Street, Northfield, MN 55057 507-645-7736.)

Weapons in Space, by Hans Bethe and Edward Teller. This leaflet offers the text of a debate at Harvard between Star Wars' best known supporter and a critic from the scientific community. (Free from Council for a Livable World Education Fund, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108 617-742-9395.)

SPECIAL MENTION

Forevermore: Nuclear Waste in America, by Donald L. Bartlett and James B. Steele. Two Pulitzer Prize winning investigative reporters from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* document how, since the early days of the Manhattan Project, the problem of nuclear waste disposal has been ignored or mishandled, and how responsibility has bounced back and forth among federal and state governments and corporations, with everyone eager to pass this particular buck. The problem is immense: "No one knows how much there is. No one knows all the places where it is. And no one—despite all claims to the contrary—knows what to do with it." After examining sites of poor waste management—West Valley, N.Y. and Barnwell, S.C., among them—the authors close with the worst waste accident to date, the story of cobalt pellets recycled into steel rods in Mexico in 1984 and shipped back to the United States. They were detected only because a truck driver made a wrong turn and tripped a radiation-detection device at, of all places, Los Alamos National Laboratory, operated by the Department of Energy, which is responsible for waste disposal. "Thousands of people," the authors point out, "would today be eating their meals at radioactive dining tables, working in radioactive office buildings, and living in radioactive homes had it not been for a driving error." An important and scary book. ($17.95 hardcover, Norton.)

TOOLS

Let's Make a Deal, a new game from the organization that marketed "Firebreaks." This game is patterned after the arms control negotiations currently underway in Geneva, and deals with limits on long-range strategic weapons systems, the deployment of intermediate range missiles in Europe, and Star Wars. (Negotiators on both sides actually participate in games to learn the structure and process of arms control, and to plan strategy and tactics.) The game kit includes briefing material and describes the primary players—the Secretary of State, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the CIA's director, the President's national security advisor, and their Soviet counterparts. ($9.95 from Ground Zero Resource Center, PO Box 19329, Portland, OR 97219 503-245-3519.)

Accidental War Prevention Newsletter is the mouthpiece of an information exchange established by professors of science and medicine actively concerned about preventing accidental war. The newsletter lists conferences and meetings in the United States and abroad, useful books and pamphlets, personal activities, and proposals from project members. (To get on the mailing list, contact Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 1187 Coast Village Road, #123, Santa Barbara, CA 93108 805-969-9137.)

Citizen Lobbyist Skills Manual, by Ruth V. Lampi. A very useful general guide to mobilizing your community, with sections on influencing Congress ("Endless pressure, endlessly applied" is one of the tips), networking to build coalitions, attracting media coverage, getting public service announcements, and conquering television (ignore the camera; wear a striped tie; don't swivel in your chair). ($2 from the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 901, Washington, D.C. 20036 202-887-6961.) □

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ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

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CONFERENCE

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WINTER, Edwin Ritchie's allegory likening nuclear arms stockpilers to maddened boys bent upon mutual annihilation, is a *mind* reader —and mind *blower*; the best of its genre. "Chilling, fascinating; a classic. Read it!" Richard Sills, scientist/educator/activist. Hardcover, 56 pp., revised, $6.00 ppd., *CENTRALIA PRESS, Box 607, Floral Park, NY 11002.*

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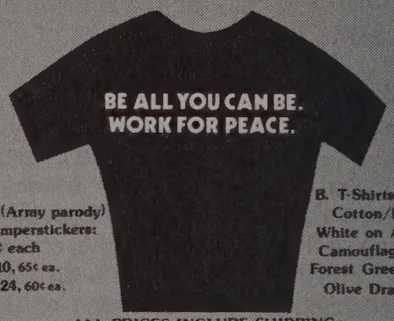

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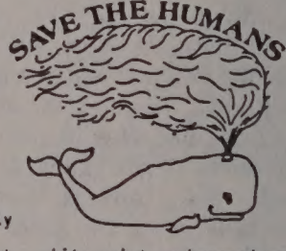

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AUGUST 6 AUGUST 9

One Sunday morning in May 1984, Tsutomu Iwakura, director of the Japan Peace Museum in Tokyo, persuaded the director of the Auschwitz Museum to take a shovel and dig up several pounds of soil from the grounds of the former concentration camp in Poland. Iwakura put the dirt in a bag and carried it back to Tokyo (smuggling it through customs), as he had been asked to do by a friend, Kazuaki Kita, a ceramic artist and sculptor. Kita, one of the world's greatest potters, and creator of "death masks" exhibited in museums in Japan and the United States, took the earth from Auschwitz and mixed it with the clay he had taken from the area under the Tenma Bridge in Hiroshima, near the epicenter of the atomic blast. With this "soil of anger," Kita created a special series of death masks, uniting—physically, artistically and emotionally—the tragedies of Hiroshima and Auschwitz.

As I write I am holding in one hand one of Kazuaki Kita's colorful death masks. He presented it to me, as a gift to peace activists in America, when we met for an extended dinner and interview in his tiny two-story atelier in the Nakano section of Tokyo last summer. The clay mask is horribly affecting—part realistic, part abstract. That is to say, it takes a violently disturbing experience and distorts it still further. The skull of this victim of the atomic bomb is partly collapsed. Swirls of red clay burn the cheeks. The mouth curls upward impossibly; one can almost hear it shriek. One eye drips an iridescent turquoise tear (it is Kita's trademark).

There is no comfort to be found in Kita's mask; gruesome as this image is, one knows that reality was much worse. But strangely one finds in it hope. One does not easily forget this "heart-burning eye"—this "eye of enmity," as Kita puts it—and its incongruous turquoise tear. Like the *Guernica*, the final effect of a Kita death mask on the viewer, after the outrage and sadness pass, is a feeling of gratitude that the victims of the massacre may not have died in vain after all. In the hands of a great artist their deaths serve as a warning that may prevent a repetition of the crime.

Americans can experience Kita's art when a half dozen of his death masks, and about 50 glazed bowls and cups, go on display from July 6 to August 4 at the Japanese-American Cultural and Community Center in Los Angeles as part of the ambitious 40th anniversary commemoration of Hiroshima in that city. The Kita exhibit, which earlier visited the Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C. and the Brooklyn Museum in New York, among other places, makes good on Kita's intention to "show a balance between beauty and horror." (His exquisite ceramic bowls are part of the permanent collections of the Hermitage in Leningrad and the British Museum in London.) Yet Kita also wants one day to mount a major show featuring just his antinuclear art, which he hopes will become a *Guernica* of the nuclear age.

Kita was 10 years old at the time of the atomic bombings but did not experience them directly. Unlike a growing number of Japanese today, Kita's memories of war remain vivid and his commitment to pacifism is still strong. He feels that expressing a humanistic view through ceramic art and sculpture is more effective than making political speeches. (His exhibit in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, led to stronger ties between that city and the city of Hiroshima.) Kita calls his death masks "proletarian" or "grass-roots" art because the hand of the artist is so evident in them. "To have great influence," he says, "you cannot start with mass communication, but personal communication. The art opposing nuclear war must rely on the grass roots, in form and in influence, and only later become mass."

In his art Kita is, he believes, relating what the survivors of the atomic bombing have been unable to say. For so many of the victims their personal experience was so wretched they repress it, or so surreal they cannot express it. Kita's two greatest antinuclear works, however, which are not in the Los Angeles show, render the truth at the heart of the tragedy of the atomic bombing brilliantly.

During our interview last August, Kita—a husky man with long black hair and a sad, broad face—suddenly sent an assistant downstairs to his studio. The young man returned with six small bundles. Kita unwrapped them and arranged the contents carefully on the tatami mat at my feet. Like freeze frames from a movie, the six clay objects depict the transfiguration of one atomic victim. (This is a ceramic form Kita claims to have invented.) The series, titled "Nuclear Destruction in a Flash," features (from left to right) six startling images: a face, with a surprised expression, caught in the initial white flash of an atomic blast; that face, a moment later, burned three-quarters black and slightly disfigured, with one white/turquoise eye; then, in sequence, the same face, now unrecognizable, growing increasingly shriveled, charred and abstract, signifying the collapse of the spirit. And then the final piece, a tiny, shiny, perfectly beautiful black tear drop—the essence of the soul, or a tear of hope.

Nuclear Destruction in a Flash

The second antinuclear masterwork is a table top on which rests a post-atomic attack landscape, littered with broken and burned pieces of rubble. The pieces look the same, but on closer examination one can see that some of the objects are actually roof tiles and others represent people. Building materials, human beings—from the sky they were all targets for extermination, and all suffered the same fate, the same fate we all face if we do not heed the lessons of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

—Greg Mitchell

Greg Mitchell visited Japan for four weeks last summer on a grant from the Hiroshima International Cultural Foundation.

WORK PICTURED BY KAZUAKI KITA

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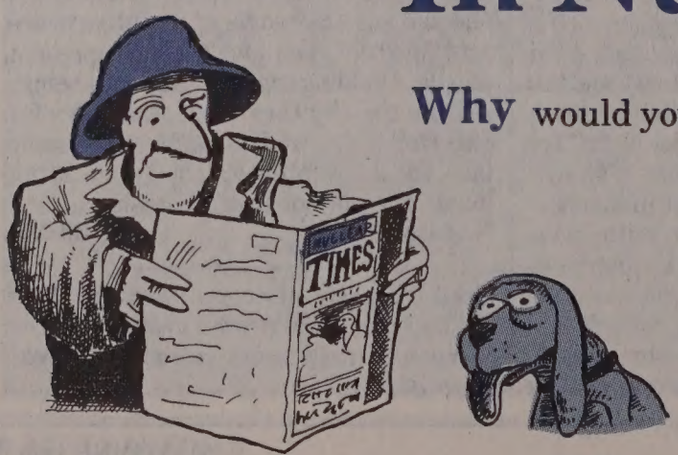

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